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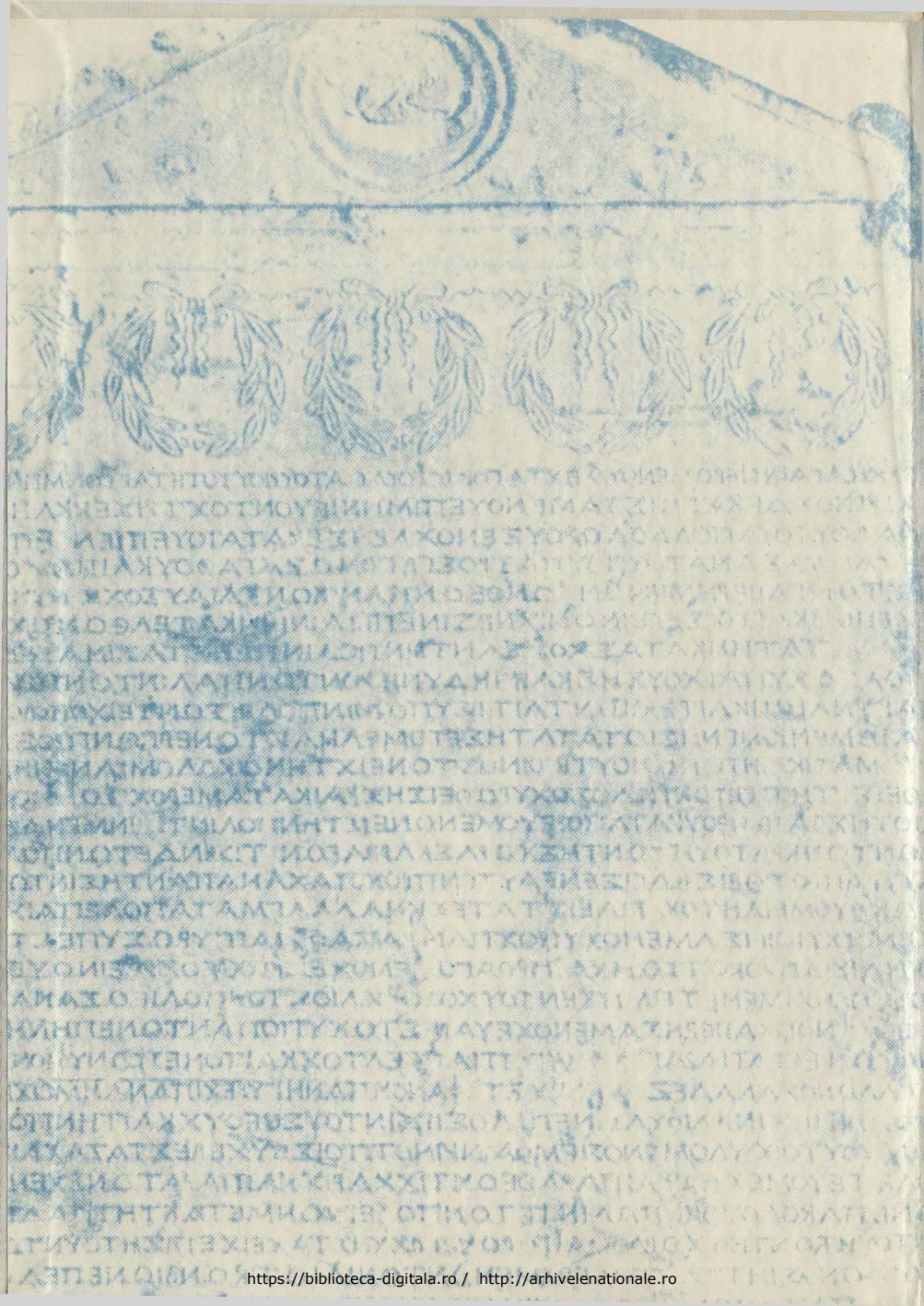

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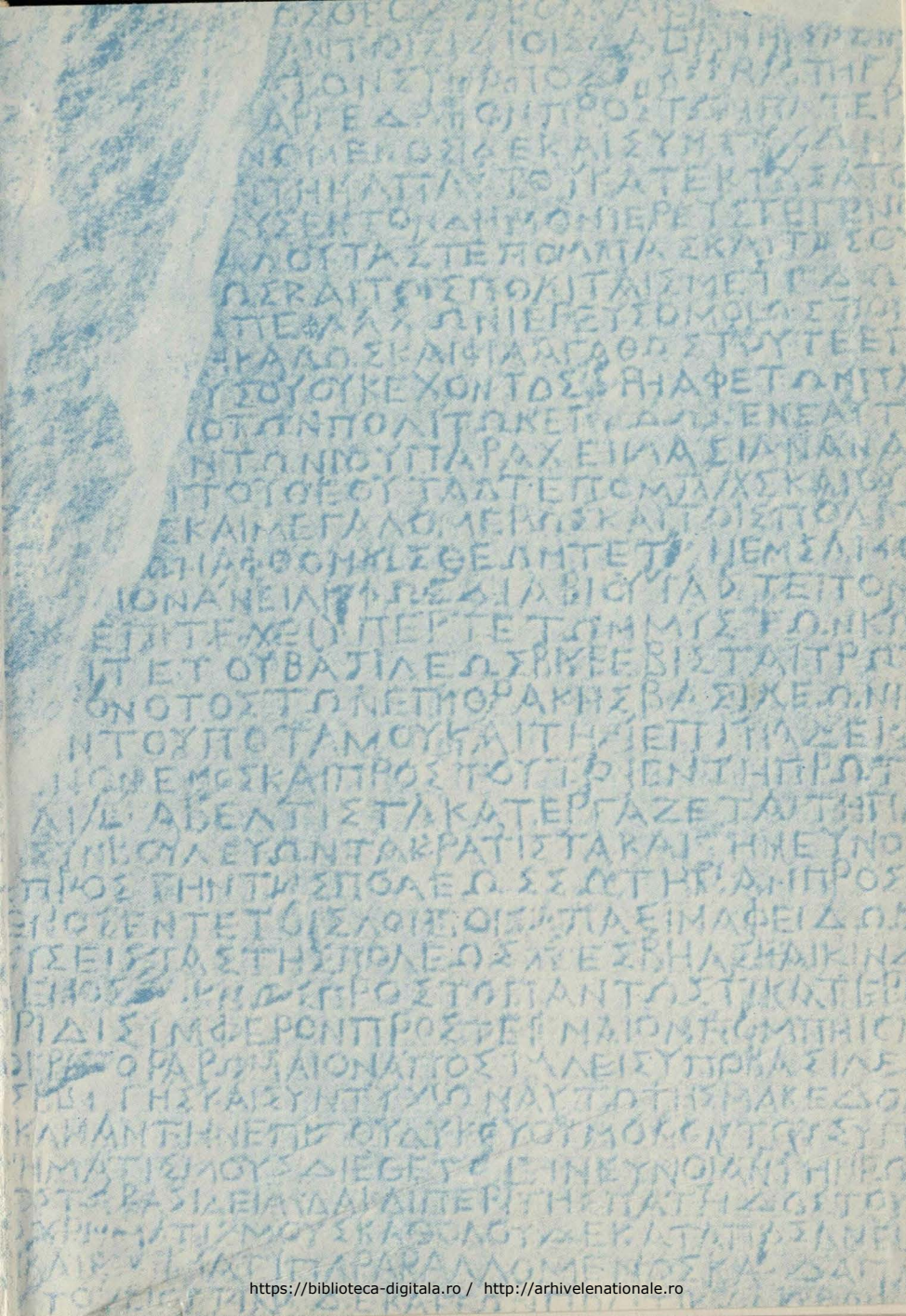

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GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF THE STATE ARCHIVES
IN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

FOREIGN SOURCES ON THE ROMANIANS

BUCHAREST 1980

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This book contains one hundred historical documents — completely or partially reproduced — deposited in foreign archives or libraries and referring all to the istory of the Romanians and of their ancestors. Chronicles, chancellery acts, diplomatic reports, treaties and conventions, letters and cables, all of them pieces of collections beyond Romania's borders, have already been known, studied and interpreted by historians, but there are among them a considerable number of recently discovered documents, the outcome of the projects mapped out by the State Archives of the Socialist Republic of Romania, aimed at identifying and make generally known the foreign documents connected with the past of the Romanian people.

The simple act of bringing to public notice 100-odd documentary sources out of the scores of thousands writs regarding a multimillenary portion of the history of the Romanians and of the peoples which had preceded them within the borders of their national territory — the Geto-Dacians and the Romans, whose amalgamation gave birth to the Romanian nation — implies, logically, rigorous criteria of selection in point of their value, accuracy, time span encompassed, etc.

The editors have attempted to cover the widest possible ground in this volume, from the ancient times and the Middle Ages down to the modern and contemporary epoch, excerpts from Herodotus' work, in which the "Father of History" described the Geto-Dacians and their civilization in connection with the campaign waged by Darius north of the Danube in 514 BC. up to the Peace Treaties of Saint Germain-en-Laye and Trianon of 1919 and 1920, under which at the conclusion of World War I, Romania's state borders got international recognition — as a national unitary state, made

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by the freely consented union of the Romanians from Transylvania, Crişana, Maramureş, Banat and Bucovina, Romanian provinces which had been until that date under the domination of the Hapsburg Empire.

Readers and scholars are audience to the history of the making of a modern national state — Romania — part and parcel of the general process of the people's struggle for national and social liberation against the historical background formed by the decay of the formerly oppresssing empires.

For thousands of years, the Romanians have contributed materially and spiritually by outstanding achievements of their prestigious personalities — figures of towering stature — to the progress of human civilization. Their progressive historical role started asserting itself thousands of years ago and the memory of the Romanian land attests to the thirst for liberty of our forefathers, the Thraco-Geto-Dacians, their rich spiritual and material culture. The complex development of life on the territories inhabitted by the Geto-Dacians, deeply marked by the broad contacts and mutual inter-relationships with the most advanced civilizations of the Greek, Persian and then Roman Antiquities, the making, by the year 70 BC, of the first centralized and independent Dacian state under the sceptre of Burebista — which asserted itself as a vigorous political and military force of the Antiquity — and then under Decebalus, a legendary hero dearly kept in the memory of the descendents as a symbol of valiance and of the spirit of sacrifice in defence of freedom and independence exquisitely mirrorred by the first pieces of documentary evidence opening the present volume, form the defining introductory chapters of the history of the Romanian nation and people.

Attesting to the continuity of Roman civilization in Dacia, the descent of the Romanian people from the Daco-Romans, to the unflinching struggle in defence of liberty and independence within the borders of the forefathers' land, these documents come and prove its ethnic unity, its capacity to firmly and efficiently oppose the predatory and rapacious invaders, to safeguard its national entity.

Preserving from the Dacians the undying thirst of liberty, the strong will never to submit to foreign yokes, and the determination to stay its full own master and, taking over

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from the Romans the rational spirit, their reasoning and creative pathos, the Romanian people has been fulfilling — along a millenary existence — its heroical and grandious historical destiny.

Vicissitudes, sufferings, the presence of the migratory peoples strewn in time, the devastating wars the Romanian people had to wage with them, had not been able to alter its spiritual and moral features, its language, faith, customs and traditions, its way of life, could not make it deviate from its progress along an historically and objectivelly established path.

Resistance to all these repeated attacks perpetrated by the Goths, Cumans, Mongolians who had crossed this country in the 3rd-13th centuries, the Tartars from Russia and Crimea who had made often inroads on the Romanian lands up to the 18th century, checked the vitality of the Romanians, their power of asserting themselves as a people and their civilization in world history.

Once the great migrations came to an end, historical evidence grasped the buds of the higher forms of administration of the Romanians, the establishment of the first voivodal nuclei whose chieftains like Gelu, Glad and Menumorut, waged fierce battles in defence and for the consolidation of the distinct political entities, and later on, in the 14th century, witnessed the centralization of various strong feudal state formations — Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania — which offered the necessary framework for the uniterrupted development of the forces of production as well as for the maintenance of national entity, for the defence of the autonomy of the Romanian countries against the big empires of the time. The organization of the Romanian feudal states created the pre-requisites for the uplifting of the socio-economic life to higher development levels, writing down in the Golden Book of History whole epochs of a blossoming material and spiritual civilization on this country's territory, marked by the personality of great patriot-ruling princes, staying forever in the people's souls, in the glorious pages of its multimillenary history.

The unflinching struggle for self-dependent development and freedom is the fundamental trait of the Roma-

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nian people's entire history, determining its very way of life, its outlook and ideals.

It was not political accomplishments alone that had an echo in European consciousness. The humanist scholars Poggio Bracciolini, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Flavio Biondo (15 th c.) wrote commendatory pages about the persistence — through the Romanians — of a strong island of Latinity in Central Europe.

Statesmen and diplomatists recorded in their turn the widely resounding exploits performed by Michael the Brave, the ruling prince who succeded in 1600 in uniting for the first time into one and the same country, Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania — the "Romania" of the morrow. The Union of 1600 was of outstanding significance for all subsequent development of the Romanian people, turning into a component part of political, diplomaticand military thinking and action of the great rulers who came thereafter and enlivened the spirits of the towering personalities of Romanian culture.

Simultaneously with original creations in the fields of architecture, fine arts and folklore, the Romanians developed at a world-wide level a historical oeuvre called by Nicolae Iorga "Byzantium after Byzantium" by preserving the cultural assets and civilization inherited from the Roman-Byzantine traditions left to all the South-East European and Eastern Mediterranean peoples. For five centuries on end, the schools of the Romanian Lands moulded scholars, while the chanceries, printing and art shops created cultural assets, which together with the political and material assistance given by the Romanian voivodes, made possible the preservation of nests of European spirituality deep in the heart of Turkocracy, from Mount Sinai and Jerusalem to Mount Athos and the Adriatic Sea. It was a deed of far-reaching consequence for the maintenance and assertion of the national awareness of the peoples in this part of the world, with a policy of culture and solidarity which the Romanians have been able to carry out owing to their autonomous status vis-à-vis the Ottoman Porte, which allowed of the continuity of their institutions, self-governing, material and spiritual progress in a climate of freedom unknown before by the other South-East European countries.

In modern times, when the struggles for independence and unity, for the creation of national states and the right to

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free development got even stronger, the Romanians offered an admirable example of the way in which thought and writing, armed struggle and diplomatic activity can be associated in order to turn these lofty ideals into vivid facts.

Whole centuries of history stand proof of the staunchness with which the Romanian people, overcoming innumerable barriers, succeeded in skilfully safeguarding its dignity, in waging an uniterrupted struggle for justice, for social and national freedom.

The peasant uprising of Transylvania in 1784, the Revolutions of 1821 and 1848 when the Romanians stood up to claim their justified rights from the Hapsburg, Ottoman and Czar's Empires — which wished to keep the people divided under separate rules and dominations — had an altogether national and social nature. The making of the Romanian modern State through the union of Wallachia and Moldavia (1859), the winning of state independence (1877) and the completion of the Romanian national unitary state (1918) have been historical acts achieved by the Romanian people in full communion of thought, efforts and sacrifice, in keeping with the historical laws demanding the imprescriptible right of the nations for self-determination.

The completion of the unity of the Romanian state offered the national and socio-economic framework for the accelerated development of the forces of production and the pooling of all the people's power and creative capacity, created the favourable pre-requisites for the activity of the social progressive forces, of the revolutionary movement.

The revolution of national and social liberation of August 1944 ushered in for the Romanian people a new epoch of social justice of many-sided development, of enhancing Romanian civilization to new and higher peaks.

The uninterrupted presence of the Romanians and of their forefathers in world history is also proved by the fact that the documents gathered in the pages of the present volume come from collections and archives deposited in the capital cities of the world from Istanbul, Vienna and Paris to Rome, London and Washington, etc., and their value is certified by authoritative signatures like those of Herodotus, Arrian, Plato, Strabo for the Antiquity, Justinianus, Kekaumenos, Sultan Mehmed II, Sigismund of Luxemburg for the Middle

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Ages, Enea Silvio Piccolimini, Francesco della Valle, Evlyia Celebi and Paul of Alep for the 15th-17th centuries, George Clémenceau, Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, Arthur James Balfour for the modern times, and many other foreign politicians, diplomatists who concerned themselves with the Romanian people or participated directly in the events of decisive importance in this people's evolution.

The present volume comprise just a few of the huge number of foreign documents concerning the history of the Romanian people. Their greatest majority have been found and the copies brought to this country by the State Archives along the 150 years since their foundation. The post-WW2 years have been particularly rich in such exploits of identifying and interpreting the sources regarding the past of the Romanian people. The General Directorate of the State Archives in Romania boasts of a comprehensive collection of microfilms, reproductions and copies of original documents deposited in more than twenty foreign countries. We are deeply grateful to all the executives of archives in the world who offered us the opportunity to identify and acquire microfilms of documents concerning the history of the Romanians.

We are also indebted and extend our special thanks to the institutions which helped and guided us with the present selection of documents — the Academy of Social and Political Sciences in the S. R. of Romania, the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History of Bucharest, and the "Romania" Association — as well as to the eminent historians who have presented the epochs and events described by the documents. We conclude by appealing to historians, scholars of Romanian culture and history, archivists, librarians and trustees of museums everyhere in the world where there still can be unpublished documents regarding the history of our people, to graciously join and help their Romanian colleagues by bringing to their notice any newly-discovered document to help make the past of the Romanians, thier culture and civilization better and comprehensively known.

IONEL GAL
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of
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THE THRACIAN-GETO-DACIAN CIVILISATION. THE ORIGINS OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE

The history of the Romanians starts with the history of their forefathers, of the Daco-Getae primarily, a branch of the great Thracian people, whose past can be reconstructed from the writings of ancient authors and archeological data. Romanian researchers have dug out a wealth of documentary material, illustrative of the Dacians' material life and level of civilisation, while the writings of Greek and Romanian authors supplied essential data for the description of their political history.

The material and spiritual civilisation of the Geto-Dacians knew particular blossoming in the 1st century B.C. as a natural consequence of the marked economic and political structural development of the Geto-Dacian communities, receptive to and assimilating some elements of the neighbouring civilisations, from the peoples with which they came into close contact. This was the background of the assertion of a remarkable political and military personality, King Burebista (82—44 B.C.), called in the writings of those times "*the greatest and the most powerful of all kings who had ever ruled Thracia.*"

The level reached by the Geto-Dacian society, Burebista's political and military endeavours favoured, about the year 70 B.C., the growth of the centralized and independent Dacian State, by the union under a single authority of all existing social and political formations.

Close and long-standing links, in all sorts of domains, were established between the Dacian State and the neighbouring Roman Empire. Nevertheless, greater or lesser military conflicts and wars broke out between the two states,

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at the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., following the expansionist politics of the Roman Empire. The heroic resistance put up by the Dacians against the Roman invaders, the heroic, and dignified death of King Decebalus, as a sovereign leader of a free people as he was, spotlights the basic feature of the direct ancestors of the Romanian people — their staunch will and determination to preserve their freedom, independence and territorial integrity.

The Daco-Roman symbiosis resulting after the Roman conquest of Dacia caused a new economic and social thriving, marking the whole subsequent historical evolution of society in this geographical area.

Archeological findings testify to the fact that after the conquest of Dacia, the autochtonous population preserved much of its own technical, economic and social experience and was at the same time receptive to a great number of elements of civilisation which it assimilated and adapted to the local way of life and environment.

After the withdrawal of the Roman army and administration from Dacia (A.D. 275), the population of this land waged a hard and uninterrupted struggle in defence of its entity, language and forefathers' soil.

Though seriously hindered in its development by the nomadic and migratory impact, the Romanian people, born out of the amalgamation of the Dacians and Romans, inherited to a great extent their forefathers' experience. Archeological researches, the recent ones in particular, have rightfully come to prove our historical continuity on the territory of Ancient Dacia, the material and spiritual culture of the Romanian people, strongly asserting its traditional nature, directly descending from the Daco-Roman civilisation.

ȘTEFAN OLTEANU
Doctor of History

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1

Herodotus, *Histories*, Data on the Thraco-Geto-Dacians.

IV, 93. Before reaching the Istros (The Danube), he first vanquished the Getae, who consider themselves immortal.

The Thracians, who hold the land of Salmydes and those who inhabit the areas north of the cities of Apollonia and Mesemvria — and call themselves Scirmiazi and Nipsei — had surrendered to Darius without offering any resistance. The Getae having acted recklessly were conquered quickly though they are the bravest and the most righteous among the Thracians.

IV, 94. This is how the Getae think of themselves to be immortal : they believe that they do not die and he who leaves this world goes to God Zalmoxis. Some call the supreme God Gebeleizis. Every five years they cast lots and send a messenger to Zalmoxis commissioned to let him know each time about the things they need. And this is the way they are sending their messenger. Some are ordered to hold three [upright] spears, and the others catch the messenger by his hands and throw him up into the spears. If — stabbed with the spears — he dies, the Getae think that their God is benevolant. If not, they blame the messenger for having been a bastard, and when the reprimand is over, they send a new one, who is entrusted the mission while still alive. The same Thracians, when it thunders and lightens, throw their spears up to the sky, and menace the god [who causes these phenomena] for they think that there is no other god except their own.

IV, 95. As I could find out from the Hellenic people inhabiting the shores of the Hellespontos and of the Pontus Euxeinos, this Zalmoxis — just a human mortal — had been a slave of Samos, namely, the slave of Pythagoras, who in his turn was the son of Mnesarchos. Later on, after having become free, he gathered a lot of wealth, and returned to his homeland as a rich man. As the Thracians were needy people and poor-spirited, this Zalmoxis — who was well acquainted with the Ionian way of like and familiar with more level-headed habits than those of the Thracians, which he had acquired from the Greeks and from Pythagoras, one of their leading thinkers — he built up a house for men's councils, where [as they say] he hosted and

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regaled the country's prominent figures, and told them that neither his guests nor any of their descendants would ever die, but go to a special place to live an eternal life and partake of all the dainties and splendours. And while he did all this and said such things, he had an underground home built for himself. When this was ready, [Zalmoxis] disappeared from among the Thracians and, descended to his underground dwelling, where he went on living for three years. The Thracians eagerly wanted him back, and wailed over the dear departed. The fourth year, he came back, and, so Zalmoxis, confirmed his teachings. This is what people tell about his deeds.

V, 3. The Thracian people are, following that of the Indians, the most numerous in the world. If they had a single leader or if the Thracians could agree among themselves they would be unconquerable and in my opinion stronger by far than any other peoples. But this is impossible and shall never be achieved. Therefore are they so weak. The Thracians have several names, according to the region they inhabit, but their customs and habits are quite the same for all of them, but the Getae, the Thraudi and those living north of the Chrestonaï.

"The father of history" furnished a lot of information on the Thracians, the remotest ancestors of the Romanians.

Herodote, *Histoires*. Text established by Ph. E. Legrand. Tome IV. Paris, Éditions Les Belles Lettres. 1949, pp. 104—106 ; tome V, 1946, p. 19. Greek original.

2

Arian, *Alexander's Expedition*, The Battles against the Getae, in 335 B.C.

I, 3, 5. Then, Alexander withdrew his boats and made up his mind to cross the Istros and go against the Getae who inhabited the left bank of the river, as he could see them gathered in great numbers on the bank of the Istros. They tried to hinder his crossing over to them (there were some four thousand cavalrymen and some ten thousand footmen). Concurrently, Alexander felt a strong desire to ford the river and reach the opposite bank. 6. He goes on board of one of the boats. And, then, he had some strawstuffed bags made out of the hide of the tents that had sheltered his men; he gathered as many boats as he could, made of hollowed-out tree trunks (there was a great abundance of such boats as the inhabitants of the banks of the Istros used them to fish, to visit each other, or, most often, to go plundering). After having gathered a great number of such boats, he crossed the river with as many soldiers as he could. There were about one thousand and five hundred cavalrymen and well-night four thousand footmen who crossed the river together with Alexander.

I, 4, 1. At night, they went to some places where wheat fields were high. In this way they were able to advance without being noticed. At daybreak, Alexander went across the fields. He ordered his infantry to advance towards uncultivated areas, bending the wheat to the ground with their spears

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held down transversely. The horsemen followed closely, across the fields in the wake of the phalanx. 2. But when they came out of the fields, Alexander himself led the cavalry to the left flank and ordered Nikanor to place the phalanx in square position. 3. But the Getae did not even resist the first attack of the cavalry. They had not expected in the least Alexander's audacity, who, without building a bridge across the river, had passed the Istros, the greatest of all rivers, so easily and in a single night. They were also scared by the unbreakable density of the phalanx and the bold attack launched by the cavalry. 4. They first fled to their city, which was at a distance of a *parasang* (some 5,500 m.) from the Istros. But when they saw Alexander bringing the phalanx rapidly forward for the attack along the bank, to prevent the footmen from being encircled by the Getae lying in ambush, and the cavalry advancing frontally, the Geate abandoned their town which was poorly fortified. They took with them as many children and women as they could carry on horseback. They fled to the uninhabitted areas as far as possible from the river. Alexander took the city of the Getae and all the riches they had abandoned. 5. He commissioned Meleagros and Philip with the conveyance of the loot. Pulling the city down to the ground, he offered the bank of the Istros to Zeus the Saviour, to Heracles and to Istros itself, which had been easily crossed over. The same day he brought back to the bulk of his army safe and sound all those with whom he had gone earlier.

Alexander the Great, made a campaign of reprisals against the Thraco-Getae, who had risen against him, and he reached with his armies the Danube (*Istros*) in 335 B.C. He crossed the river and took the city of the Getae and then, withdrew his army. Arian's description of this inroad furnishes details on the way of life and the military skills of the Getae, north of the Danube.

Flavii Arriani, *Anabasis Alexandri*. Edited by A. G. Roos, Lipsiae. In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1910, pp. 6—7. Greek original.

3

Plato, *Charmidae*, On the medical art and science of the Thracians.

156 d... And it stands the same, Charmidae, with this charm. I [Socrates] have learnt it there, in the army, from a Thracian physician, one of the apprentices of Zalmoxis who — they say — makes men immortal. That Thracian told me that the Greek [physicians] were right when speaking like that. But Zalmoxis, he added, our king, who is a God, tells us 156e that neither shall we try to heal the eyes without watching over the head, the head without attending the body and in the same way shall the body and soul be taken care of together, and it is therefore that Greek physicians do not know all the ropes of so many diseases: [namely] because they are not

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acquainted with the whole they have to take care of. If this whole is sick, neither can a part of it be healthy. For, he said, all things good or bad as they are — for the body and for the man as a whole — derive from the soul and from this source they run further to the head and to the eys; 157a. Thus we must first and foremost cure the source of evil so that the rest of the body may enjoy the good health of the head. My friend, he said, the soul is cured with charms. These charms are the beautiful words which bred wisdom in the souls. Once wisdom is born and if it lasts, the health of the body and head is an easy thing. 157b. When he used to teach me the remedy and the charm he said: Nobody should ever persuade you to heal his head with this remedy, if he does not commend his soul to you to be healed with charms. And this — he said — is men's biggest mistake, to try and heal one part or the other [the soul or the body]. And he was very keen on not yielding in to anybody — however rich, of good standing or handsome he might be — to do otherwise. And if you would like — according to that foreigner's advice — you should first commend thy soul to me to charm it with the Thracian's spell, and then, I shall give you the remedy for your head. Otherwise, I can't be of any help to you, my dear Charmidae.

Platon, *Oeuvres complètes*, Tome II, established and translated text by Alfred Croiset, Member of Institute, Paris, *Les Belles Lettres*, 1921, pp. 56—57. Greek original.

4

Strabo, *Geography*, Data concerning Burebista's reign.

VII, 3, 11 (C. 303). Leaving aside the age-old past of the Getae, the events which have recently occurred are the following: Burebista, the Geta, taking the leadership of his people, had raised his men, exhausted through endless wars, and improved them by means of exercises, abstention from drinking wine and by teaching them to obey orders (C. 304), so that he established, after a few years, a strong state and made the Getae the masters of almost all their neighbours; he also became a great danger for the Romans, as he often crossed the Danube disregarding everybody and plundered Thracia as far as Macedonia and Illyria; he completely destroyed the Celts who had mixed with the Thracians and the Illyrians, while he wiped out from the earth the Boii [1] who were ruled by King Critasiros as well as the Taurisci [2]. To make his people obey him, he took Deceneus to serve as his assistant; the latter was a charlatan who had roamed a lot through Egypt, and who learnt there a couple of foretelling skills, and so he pretended to be able to interpret the will of the gods. However, for some time, he was taken for a God

[1] A Celtic people, who came from present-day Bohemia to South Slovakia, about the year 80 B.C.
[2] *Idem.*

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himself, as I have already said, when telling about Zalmoxis. Proof of their [the Getae] obeyance to him, is also the fact that they could be persuaded by him to cut all their vines and live without wine. As for Burebista, he perished due to an uprising, before the Romans succeeded to send an army against him. His followers to the throne fell out with one another, and divided power in several parts. Recently, when Emperor Augustus sent an army against them, authority was divided into five states. By then, nevertheless, power had been divided into four. Such partitions are lasting a short while and keep on changing in one way or another.

Born in Amascia, in Pontus, in 63 B.C., he was the author of a history, which is lost and only fragments came down to us, as well as of an important *Geography*, formed of 17 books, — based on valuable sources. His work contains a lot of information on the Getae, the strength of the first unitary state of the Geto-Dacians achieved by Burebista and which spread from the Bohemian Quadrilateral as far as the mouths of the river Bug, at the Black Sea and the Haemus Mountains.

Strabonis, *Geografia*. Recognovit Augustus Meineke, Vol. II. Lipsiae, Sumptibus et typis B.G., Teubneri, 1853. p. 417. Greek original.

5

Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, On the battles between the Dacians and the Romans.

LXVII, 6, 1. In those times, the most significant war of the Romans was the one they waged against the Dacians, who were ruled by Decebalus [Duras, their former king, gave freewillingly his crown to Decebalus who had... Exc. Val.] a quick mind in drawing up war plans and carrying them out, knew how to choose the right time to attack the enemy, as well as the right moment when he should withdraw. He was skilful in laying traps and brave in battle, knowing how to make wise use of a victory and get out well from a lost battle. For all this, he was for long a dreaded enemy of the Romans. 2. I call the people mentioned above Dacians, as they use to call themselves, and as the Romans also name them, although I know it quite well that some Greeks — whether rightly or wrongly — call them Getae. But, I understand clearly that the Getae live beyond the Haemus, along the river Istros. 3. Domitianus took an army and went against them, but as he cared little about war, he stopped in a city of Moesia and took to debauchery, as he used to. Just so, not only that he was unable to put himself out to any trouble, but he also had no courage at all and he never put a briddle to his passions and was brazenfaced with women and young boys.

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He sent to war other chieftains in his place and more often that not he was unsuccessful. Xiph. 219, 10—24, R. St. and (§1) Exc. Val. 284 = Suidas under the words δεινός and καιριος and (v. 7—10 Exc. Val. 285, as well as (v. 8—10) Exc. Val. 280.

5. Decebalus, King of the Dacians, sent a messenger to Domitianus to avow peace. Therefore, Domitianus sent Fuscus with a great army against him. When Decebalus learnt about it, he sent a messenger again, to jeer at him, to tell him that he is willing to conclude peace if Domitianus would accept each Roman to annually pay two mites to Decebalus. Otherwise, Decebalus would carry on the war and the Romans would be affected by great misfortunes. Petr. Patr. Exc. de leg. 3 (Hoeschel, p. 15, FHG, IV, p. 185, fr. 4).

6. Dio... Book LVII..., "the men who were on Fuscus' expedition, asked to be led into warfare..." Bekki, Anecd. 147, 21—31.

LXVII, 7, 1. Domitianus wanted to take revenge against the Quasi and the Marcomanni, who had not supported him against the Dacians. He went to Pannonia to struggle with them and killed their peace messengers, which they had sent for the second time. Exc. UG 42 (p. 399). 2. Crushed and driven away by the Marcomanni, Domitianus sent a deputation to Decebalus, the King of the Dacians, urging him to conclude the treaty, which he (Domitianus) had denied before, although [the King] had repeatedly asked for peace. Decebalus accepted the pledge (as he was in trouble himself), but he refused to go to Domitianus and sent Diegis instead, accompanied by several men, to give up arms and a couple of prisoners, pretending that these were all he had got. 3. On his arrival, Domitianus adorned him with a diadem — as if he were a true victor and the man able to give the Dacians a King — and to his men he distributed honours and money. Like a true victor, he sent to Rome — among others — Decebalus' so-called messengers and a letter allegedly sent by him, but which, as people tell, was forged by Domitianus himself.

4. Domitianus crowned his triumph with a lot of spoils which had not been taken loot. [On the contrary, it was he who spent a lot of money to conclude that peace, because he gave Decebalus without any delay not only a great amount of money, but also craftsmen skilled in making useful things in time of peace and war and promised to give him even more]. All those things he took from the imperial furniture. For he usually resorted to those things as loot of war, like one who led his empire into serfdom. Exc. UA 14 (p. 400).

LXVII, 10, 1. During the Dacian war, the following events are worth mentioning: Julianus, nominated by the Emperor himself to lead the war, among other good deeds of his, he also obliged the soldiers to write their own names and those of the centurions on the shields in order to easily recognize the valiant from the villains. 2. And waging the battle against the enemies at Tapae, he killed them in great numbers. Vezinas, who followed Decebalus, in full dignity, was also among the enemies; as he could not make an escape, he lay down to the ground, and feigned to be dead, and so passing unnoticed he could run away at night. 3. Decebalus feared that the

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victorious Romans might advance on his capital. He therefore fell all the trees down around them (at a certain height) and placed weapons on the trunks, to make believe they were soldiers for the Romans to be frightened and withdraw. And so they did. Xiph. 219, 24-221, 20R. St.

LXVIII, 6, 1. After staying for a while in Rome, Trajan went on war against the Dacians. He ruminated over their deeds and was very upset by the sums of money the Romans had to pay to them every year. And he also saw how the Dacians' power and arrogance were swelling up. 2. When he heard about his expedition, Decebalus was seized by fear, as he realized that he had vanquished Domitianus before, and not the Romans, and that this time he had to fight the Romans themselves and Emperor Trajan. 3. He was a particularly great man, always taking right decisions, very courageous, and of simple and sound morals. He was stout and healthy (he ascended to the throne at 42 years of age) and faced all hardships side by side with the other people; his soul was also up to the mark, as he never gave way to his daring youthfulness, but neither did he give in to old age.

LXVIII, 7, 5... Therefore Decebalus was right in being scared by (Trajan).

LXVIII, 8, 1. When Trajan started his expedition against the Dacians and approached Tapae, the place where the barbarians laid out their camp, he was fetched a big mushroom, on which it was written in Latin characters that both the other allies and the Burs advise Trajan to go back and ask for peace. 2. But Trajan fought the battle with them, saw many of his men wounded and he killed a lot of enemies. As he was short of dressings for the wounds, they say, he did not spare his own clothes, and had them cut into strips. Then, on his order, an altar was erected to the memory of the soldiers fallen in battle, where offenrings for the dead should be brought every year. Xiph. 231, 2-13 R. St.

After reaching the Istros, Trajan crossed immediately the river with his men, on boats, against the Dacians. Tzetz. Chil. II, 62—63.

LXVIII, 9, 1. Decebalus sent messengers, even before the defeat, not from among the *comati* — as earlier — but the best *pileati*. 2. These threw their weapons away, lay down to the ground and urged Trajan to agree to receiving Decebalus and discuss with him, as he was willing to fulfil everything he was asked to ; or, Trajan should at least send somebody to agree with Decebalus. Sura and Claudius Livianus, the prefectus praetorius were sent.

Decebalus sent to Trajan some messengers from among the *pileati*. These were the most honorable men with them. He had sent *comati* before. These are of less standing. When they (the pileati) came to Trajan, they threw their arms away, had their hands bound at their back like prisoners, and begged Trajan to talk to Decebalus. Petr. Patr. Exc. de leg. G. 4 (Hoeschel p. 15 = FHG, IV, p. 185 and foll., fr. 5)

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3. But nothing came out of it as Decebalus did not dare to meet them and sent some other people there. Trajan occupied the fortified mountains and found there the weapons and machines conquered [from the Romans] as well as the standard captured from Fuscus.

4. For all these reasons, but particularly because Maximus had caught his sister and took hold of a fortified place, Decebalus was ready to accept any conditions, not that he meant to keep the compact but only to regain strength after the losses he had suffered then :

LXVIII, 8, 3, (Xiph...) he gave order (Chapt. 8, 2) so that he started climbing, and took hill after hill, overcoming great dangers, and so he approached the Dacians' capital. Lusius attacked them somewhere else, he killed a lot of enemies and caught a great number of them alive. At that time, Decebalus sent (cf. l. 16) a deputy of 20 of his best pileati to ask the Emperor, through their intermediary, (chap. 9, 1—2) nothing more than that he was ready to conclude peace and accept all the conditions imposed upon him namely to give the weapons back, etc. (Xiph. 231, $^{13-16}$ R. St.)

5. namely, to return weapons, machines and their builders, to hand over the deserters, to pull down the walls of the fortified cities, to abandon all the territoires he had conquered, to accept as his friends and enemies the friends and enemies of the Romans ; 6. to accept no deserter, and not to take any longer Roman militaries in his service (for Decebalus used to lure many valiant men). As he was in great difficulty, he had to accept these conditions. He went to Trajan, bowed to him and threw his armies away. 7. [Trajan] sent the news to the Senate, so that the latter should endorse the peace. After having set all this into order, and leaving his army at Sarmisegethusa, and other garrisons in the country, he returned to Italy. Exc. U^{G} 47 (p. 401), Xiph. 221, $^{13-24}$ R. St.

LXVIII, 10, 1. Decebalus' messengers were brought before the Senate. They laid their weapons down, had their hands bound like prisoners of war and uttered words of supplication. In this way they succeeded in persuading them to accept peace and took their weapons back; 2. Trajan celebrated his triumph and was given the surname of "Dacicus". He organised gladiator fights at the theatre (as he enjoyed them very much) and brought back to the stage some pantomime performers (he was in love with one of them, Pylades); although he liked the feats of arms he did not care less for others and was eagerly, imparting justice. He presided over trials, whether in Augustus' Forum or under the so-called Livia's Portico, or often elsewhere. Xiph. 231, ^{24}-232, ^{2} R. St. and (p. 196, $^{11-13}$). Exc. Val. 287 (p. 708). 3. But when he was informed that Decebalus had not observed the treaty, that he was preparing his weapons, that he has started to receive deserters, he was

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strengthening the cities, sent messengers to his neighbours and caused damage to those with whom he had had differences and took from the Yazyges a part of their territory (which, although the Yazyges made reasonable claims on this territory, Trajan never gave it back to them), 4. the Senate decided by decree that Decebalus was a new foe, and Trajan himself without entrusting other generals with the command of the army, started a new war against Decebalus.

LXVIII, 11, 1. As many Dacians left Decebalus and sided with Trajan — for some other reasons too — Decebalus asked for peace again. But he did not mean to lay down arms and surrender, and he openly assembled his troops and called upon his neighbours for assistance ; 2. He said that if they deserted him, they would be in danger themselves ; for it was easier and safer for them to preserve their freedom by helping out Decebalus in battle, before he might have suffered some misfortune. But if they looked indifferently at the Dacians to see how these were crushed, they would also be enslaved, as they would lose their allies. Exc. U^{G}48 (p. 402). 3. Decebalus did not succeed by force. But, he was within an ace of killing Trajan by crafty scheming and setting him a trap. He sent several deserters to Moesia to try and kill Trajan as it was not difficult at all to reach him. By then, the rigours of war made him receive unreservedly anybody who wanted to speak to him. But Decebalus' envoys did not succeed in their endeavour, as one of them raised suspicion and was caught. Having been put to torture he let the whole plot out.

LXVIII, 12, 1. Then, Decebalus called Longinus, the commander of a legion, to him of whose staunchness he had been aware during the battles he fought with him and, after persuading him to come with the obvious intention to subject him, he caught and asked him in front of everybody about Trajan's plans. As [Longinus] did not show the least intention to confess, he put him in custody, unbound. 2. Decebalus sent then an envoy to Trajan and asked him, in exchange for Longinus' freedom, to make over the land as far as the Istros to him and pay back all the sums of money he had spent on war. [Trajan] answered with words of uncertain significance by which he said that he does neither praise Longinus very much nor very little ; he was reluctant both to losing him or saving him with too great a sacrifice. 3. Decebalus hung still in the balance, he did not know what to do. But, in the meantime, Longinus procured some poison with the aid of one of his freemen and promised Decebalus to reconcile him with Trajan in order to set the King at rest and be entirely unsuspicious of Longinus' plans and leave him stay under not so hard a custody. Longinus wrote an imploring letter and gave it to the freeman to fetch it to Trajan, so that he might stay unhindered. 4. When the freeman left, Longinus drank the poison at night and died. After all these happenings, Decebalus asked Trajan to swap Longinus' corpse and ten prisoners for the freeman. And, he sent immediately a centurion caught together with Longinus to accomplish his request. 5. Trajan was told by the centurion what happened to Longinus. He neither sent the centurion nor the freeman back to Decebalus, for he deemed that a freeman's life is of much greater importance for the dignity of the Empire than Lon-

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ginus' burial. Xiph. 232, [10-28] R.St. (down to line 1) and (§ [2-5], Exc. U[G] 49) p. 402 sqq.

LXVIII, 13, 1. Trajan had a stone bridge built over the Danube, which I cannot praise enough. Wonderful as Trajan's constructions can be, this one surpasses anything in magnitude. There are 20 four-ribbed pillars, cut in stone, reaching one hundred fifty feet in height, without the basement and sixty feet in breadth. 2. They stand in pairs at a distance of one hundred and seventy feet from one another and are connected by a vault. And how could we not be overwhelmed with wonder at the great sums of money spent on these pillars? Should we not be amazed at the art and skill with which each pillar was placed right in the middle of the river, in a whirling water and muddy soil, as the course of the river could not be turned? I have shown how large the river was, because it often doubles even trebles its width along its course, but right there where the bridge was erected, the river was narrower and more appropriate for the building of a bridge. 4. The narrower the space gets — as the river flows from a larger expanse down to an even broader bed — the deeper and the more impetuous is the water. And all this comes to complicate the building of the bridge. 5. Trajan's brilliant ideas can be also detected in such structures. Nowadays, the bridge isn't of any use, as only the pillars have stood upright and they do not permit passage over the river, but they say that they had been done to stand proof of the fact that nothing is impossible for man to conceive. 6. Trajan feared a war against the Romans left across the river, when the waters of the Istros would freeze, and so he had this bridge built to make transports easier across the river. On the other hand, Hadrian was afraid that the barbarians would defeat the guards and have an easier passage to Moesia in this way, and therefore, he pulled down the upper structure.

LXVIII, 14, 1. Trajan crossed the river on the bridge and waged his war with great wisdom and less ardor, defeating the Dacians after long and hard endeavours. He proved to be a skillful commander and a valiant man, and the soldiers overcame together with him, great and numerous dangers and gave proof of much bravery. 2. A cavalryman, who had been seriously wounded was kept off the battle on the chance of being saved. But feeling that he would never be healed, he rushed out of the tent (his wound had not worn him out) went back to his post and fell dead after having performed wonderful deeds. 3. When Decebalus saw that his throne and the whole country lay in his foe's hands, and being aware that he was in danger and could be taken a prisoner, he took his own life. His head was sent to Rome. In this way Dacia had to pay obedience to the Romans and Trajan set up cities of colonists there. 4. Decebalus' hoards were discovered, although they had been hidden under the river Sargetia in the neighbourhood of his capital city. [Decebalus] had turned the course of the river with some prisoners and made them dig a pit there. He placed for preservation a lot of silver and gold as well as other very precious things — particularly such items which resisted to dampness — and covered them with pebbles and earth, and brought the river into its bed. 5. [Decebalus] resorted to the same prisoners to hide in caves clothes and other things of the same kind. After having completed

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all this, he killed them so that they could never reveal anything. But Bicilis, one of his comrades who had knowledge of what had happened, was taken a prisoner and let the secret out. Xiph. 232, [28]-234, [16]R.St.

Writing his monumental work of 80 books, Dio Cassius left precious information on the battles between the Dacians and the Romans. Although all the books referring to those battles have been lost, part of the data furnished by Dio Cassius came down to us through the intermedium of the Byzantine historians, Xyphilinos and Zonares. *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae* reproduces after the German edition the passages as they have been interpolated by the German editor.

Cassii Dionis Cocceiani, *Historiarum Romanorum quae supersunt*. Edited by Ursulus Philippus Boissevain. T. III, Berolini, Apud Weidmannos, Berlin, 1901, pp. 170—174, 175—176, 191—201. Latin original.

6

Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum*, Data on the past of the Dacians.

39... In their second venue, that is Dacia, Thracia and Moesia, the King of the Goths was Zamolxe, about whom many authors of annals tell us that he was a philosopher, of matchless erudition. Before, it had been Zeuta, a learned man as well, who was followed by Deceneus and thirdly, by Zamolxe about whom I have written above. Thus, the Goths did not lack people to teach them philosophy. 40. Therefore, the Goths had always been superior to all barbarians and nearly equalled the Greeks, as we are told by Dio, the one who wrote their history and annals into Greek. He says that those who were of noble descent called themselves Tarabostes at the beginning and then Pilleati : it was from their ranks that kings and priests were elected. And the Goths were praised to such an extent that people even tell that Mars had been born among them, but the cheating imagination of the poets has turned him into the God of War. Therefore, Virgil himself states : "The untiring father, who reigns over the Getae's plains". 41. The Goths had always succeeded in taming him by a savage cult (for his victims were the killed prisoners) thinking that the great master of war should be subdued with human blood. It was to him that the first booties were dedicated, and it was also in his honour that they hung in the trees the best loots seized in war and, as compared to other gods, he was worshipped with high religious feelings as it seems that the invocation of his soul was very much alike to the one calling upon a parent.

67. Then, during Burebista's reign over the Goths, Deceneus came into their land, at the time when Sylla ascended to power in Rome. Receiving Deceneus, Burebista gave him almost royal powers. On his advice, the Goths began to plunder the lands of the Germans which are now in the possession of the Francs.

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68. Caesar, nevertheless, who was the first to take the full leadership of the Roman State, and who brought under his domination the whole world, and who subjected all the countries to his own power so much that he occupied besides our cities even the remotest islands, there far away in the bosom of the Ocean, and who turned even these people who had never heard of the name of Roman into the tributaires of the Romans ; nevertheless, in spite of having tried several times, he never succeeded in subjecting the Goths. Gaius Tiberius was the third Emperor of the Romans, and the Goths still preserved their independence under his reign.

69. They considered as a great luck and gain, as their sole wish, the fulfilment by any means of what their guide, Deceneus, advised them to do, as they deemed such fulfilment was right and useful. Deceneus, noticing their readiness to fully obey to him, and that they were intelligent by nature, he taught them almost all the branches of philosophy, as a skillful master as be was in this domain. He taught them ethics, getting them out of their barbarian habits, he trained them into the laws of physics, making them live in keeping with the laws of nature ; the transcriptions of these laws made by him have come down to us under the name of *belagines* ; he taught them logics, and so he made them superior to other peoples, in what the mind is concerned ; and by his own example, he urged them to live their life by doing good deeds ; by demonstrating the theory of the twelve signs of the zodiac, he showed the movement of planets and disclosed to them all the astronomical secrets and how the orbit of the moon is increasing and decreasing and how much greater is the fire globe of the sun than the size of the earthly globe and told them the names and signs under which the three hundred and forty six stars are progressing in their swift movement from the east to the west to get nearer farther away from the heavenly pole.

70. You can see what great a pleasure such brave people were given, when they had to approach philosophical doctrines, during their little time of rest and leisure after the battles. We can see one searching the position of the sky, the other observing the features of plants and fruits, a third one looking attentively to the solar eclipse, and how [the stars] which are rushing forward to reach the oriental region are drawn back by the rotation of the sky to the occidental one, each taking then a rest according to some pre-established rule.

71. By teaching all that and many more to the Goths with great art and skill, Deceneus turned, in their vision, into a miraculous being, so that he reigned not only over ordinary people, but he even commanded to kings. It was by then that he selected from the leading men of the country and the wisests of all, to teach them theology, and advised them to praise only some specific deities and sanctuaries, appointed them priests and called them pileats, as they thought that they were making sacrificies by wearing a tiara on their heads, which we are calling by another name — *pilleus* ; 72. All the other people were called on his order *capillati*, which the Goths recall in their songs even now, on account of the great consideration which they paid to their name.

73. And after the death of Deceneus, they held Comosicus, who was equally cute, in almost the same veneration.

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He was considered by them a king, a supreme priest and judge, owing to his great talents, and he was imparting justice to the people, as a judge of last instance. When he also passed away, Corilus ascended to the throne, to become the king of the Goths, and he led his peoples in Dacia, for forty years.

74. I mean the old Dacia which is now occupied by the Gepidae. This country, placed in front of Moesia, beyond the Danube, is surrounded by a crown of mountains, having only two entrance ways, one at Boute and another at Tapae. This land of the Goths, which our ancestors had called Dacia, and which is now named Gepidia, as I have stated before, borders on the Roxolanes to the east, on the Yaziges and on the Danube to the South. The Yaziges are separated from the Roxolanes only by the Alutus river.

76. After a longer interval of time, under Emperor Domitianus, the Goths, by fear of his avarice, broke the compact they had signed with other emperors and started to plunder the banks of the Danube which were under the rule of the Roman Empire since long, and destroyed the armies garrisoned there, together with their commanders. By then, after Agripa, the governor of those provinces was Oppius Sabinus, while the leadership of the Goths was held by Durpaneus. After a battle, the Romans were defeatd, Oppius Sabinus was beheaded and the Goths invaded a great number of castles and cities and plundered the regions which were under Roman authority.

77. Due to the misfortune of his own kind, Domitianus marched with all his forces to Illyrium and entrusting General Fuscus and several other leading men with the command of almost the entire army, he obliged them to cross the Danube against Durpaneus' army, on a bridge made of boats bound to one another. 78. Then, the Goths, who had not been caught unawares, took their arms into their own hands and defeated the Romans from the very first encounter, killing their commander, Fuscus, and pillaged the riches in the soldier's camp as well. Owing to this grand victory they called their leaders demigods, that is "andes" and not common people, as if they had evinced victorious on account of their great luck.

Jordanes, a historian of Gothic descent, compiled by the middle of the 6th century a History of the Goths. By taking the Getae for Goths, Jordanes furnished most interesting and important data on the history of Dacia, which he collected from ancient historians, especially from the Cassiodorus work, which is lost today.

Iordanis, *De origine actibusque Getarum (Getica)*. In : Iordanis *Romana et Getica*, text established by Th. Mommsen, Berolini, 1882. Apud Weidmannos, pp. 64, 73—74, 75, 76, Latin original.

7

Justinianus, *Novellae*, The setting up of Prima Justiniana bishopric.

As it is my wish to uplift by various and numerous means my own homeland, where God the Father ordained my first coming into this world of ours which was created by Him, I should like in point of sacerdotal

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authority to grant it the highest dignities, so that now, the blessed bishop of Prima Justiniana of my country should become not only a metropolitan but also an archbishop; and his protection shall extend over certain provinces, that is both in Mediterranean Dacia itself and in Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Prima, Dardania, the Praevalitana province, Macedonia Secunda and the part Pannonia Secunda, which is in civitas Bacensis. 1. For, in older times, the seat of the praefecture was in Sirmium, together with the highest authority of Illyrium, both for civil cases and for episcopal ones. Later, during the times of Attila, when the settlements in those parts were devastated, and Apraemius the prefect of the praetorium had come as a refugee from the city of Sirimium to Salonika, the office of prefecture was added a sacerdotal dignity, and the Bishop of Salonika acquired a privileged position, not so much by his authority, but by the existence of the prefecture. 2. But, as nowadays by the will of God, our state grew bigger, so that both banks of the Danube are populated with our citadels, and our authority has been restored in Viminacium as well as in Recidiva and Litterata, which lie beyond the Danube, I have thought proper to place in the vicinity of Pannonia, in our blessed homeland, the most glorious prefecture, which had ever been established in Pannonia, as Pannonia secunda is not at a very great distance of Mediterranean Dacia, and Macedonia prima is separated of Pannonia secunda by stretches of land. 3. And as it was not to the benefit of the state to have the people who are always sweating in wars and face so many hardships come as far as Macedonia prima, we thought that it was necessary to move the prefecture itself to the place mentioned before so that the neighbouring provinces might enjoy its comfort and consolation.

Therefore, Your Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop and all the Lord Archbishops of the said Justiniana Prima, shall have the prerogative and full freedom in imparting authority to and in govering these provinces, where they will enjoy the highest dignity and the first sacerdotal office, the highest rank ; they shall be elected by Your See, You shall be their sole Archbishop with no connection whatever with the bishop of Salonika ; it is Your Grace and all the bishops of Prima Justiniana who shall be their judges and umpires: and any difference that might arise between them shall be to put an end to by Your bishops, who shall restore order ; and nobody shall address somebody else than their archbishop who shall be recognized by everybody in the said provinces, who shall submit to his authority and power to elect ; and, either himself or upon his authority, or by sending some priests he shall enjoy full powers and full sacerdotal control and the freedom to elect. 5. But, also in Aque, which lies in Dacia Ripensis, it is our will to have a bishop appointed by His Sanctity, so that, in the future he shall not obey anymore to the bishop at Meridium, the Meridian shall remain in Meridium, and he shall have no connection whatever with Aquae, while the bishop of Aquae shall have the said citadel and all the castles, the territories and its churches, in order to be able to drive away from that citadel and from those lands, the faithlessness of the Bonosiaci and turn it to our truest holy faith.

Beginning with the middle of the third century, the history of the Roman Empire is dominated by personalities coming from the Daco-Thracian world : Maximus Thrax, Aurelianus, Galerius, the Constantine

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dinasty, Aetius, who saved the Western Empire in the Battle of the Catalaunic Plains, Marcianus and, finally the Justinian dynasty, who are also of Thracian origins. Justinianus, referring to the province of Thracia in 535, during the consulate of Belisarius, a Thracian himself, states the following: "It is an undeniable fact, that, when somebody utters the name of Thracia, we immediately think of valour, multitude of armies, wars and battle; as all these are innate and have their homeland in that country."
After the consolidation of imperial authority on both banks of the Danube, as a token of high esteem for his native places, Justinianus sets up the archbishopic Prima Justiniana to be equal in rank with the Apostolic See of Rome.

Justiniani, *Novellae*, recognovit Rudolfus Schoell, opus Schoellii morte interceptum absolvit Guilelmus Kroll, 9th ed. 1968, II pp. 376—379. Latin original.

8

Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*. On the origins of South-Danubian Romanians.

Hit with war by Emperor Trajan and completely defeated, they were subjected (by him) and their King, called Decebalus, was killed and his head put in a spear in the middle of the town of Rome. As these are the so-called Dacians, also [called] *Besi*. First, they lived near the Danube and the Saos, which we now also call Sava, where, since more recent times, the Serbians are living, in places strengthened [by nature] and hardly accessible.

The Byzantine document, written in the 11th century, provides data on the Eastern Romance world, the *Vlahi* (Romanians) of Thessalia and their uprisal against the Byzantine Emperor in 1066. It results from his description that the *Vlahi* had well-established settlements, villages and towns and the shepherds used to go with their herds and families to the mountains from April to September, and then come back to their homes. Kekaumenos confirms the fact that the Vlahi are the descendants of the Romanized Dacians and that the deplacement of the Romanian population had taken place from the north to the south, and not the other way round, which means that one cannot speak of an emigration of the Romanians from the south to the north until the end of the eleventh century. Moreover, the description made by Kekaumenos is also confir ming that the Vlahi represented a social and political force.

Soveti i rasskazi Kekavmena. Socinenie vizantiiskogo polkovodța XI veka; Podgotovka teksta, vvedenie, perevod i kommentarii G.G. Litavrina, Moskva, 1972, pp. 268—270. Greek original.

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9

The Presbiterium of Dioclean, *Regnum Slavorum*, shows that the Bulgarians occupied the land of the Romanians, when they came into the Haemus Peninsula.

The Bulgarians... occupied all the province of the Latins, who were called Romans by then, that is Morovlahi, which means Black Latins.

Presbyter Diocletis, *Regnum Slavorum*. In : I .G. Schwandtner, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricum veteres ac genuini*, Vienna, 1748, vol. III, p. 478. Latin original.

10

Ioan Kinnamos, *Epitome*, References to the fact that in 1167 one of the Byzantine generals had at his orders numerous *Vlahi*, in the battles between the Byzantines and the Hungarians.

VI. 3.... And the Emperor was seething with rage and wished to go again against the land of the Huns [3], but he was eager to prove, first and foremost, the force of the people of Rome, this is what he planned. He sent Alexie, whom he had engaged to be married to his own daughter, to go to the Istros with numerous armies commanded by him, who was the protostator, as he wanted to make the Huns believe that they would be attacked from the usual places. He ordered Leon, also called Vatatzes — who brought a strong army from elsewhere, and even a great number of Vlahi, about whom people say that they are the old colonists of the people of Italy — to invade the land of the Huns coming from the territories of the so-called Euxine Pontus, wherefrom nobody had ever come to attack them.

Ioannis Cinnami Imperatorii Grammatici Historiarum libri sex, seu de rebus gestis a Ioanne et Manuele Comnenis ⟨recensuit⟩ carolus du Fresne, Parisiis e typographia regia, MDCLXX (1670) p. 152. Latin original.

[3] of the Hungarians.

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THE SETING UP OF THE ROMANIAN FEUDAL STATES. THE STRUGGLE OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE FOR SOCIAL AND NATIONAL EMANCIPATION

The permanent and strong-willed endeavours of many peoples were also focussed on their political and state organization. So did the Romanians. Compelled by the vicissitudes of history to bear long-lasting foreign dominations during the time of the migratory peoples' waves, the Romanians organized their own political formations, the so-called "popular" *Romanias* or "countries" first as kniazates and voievodates, and later on as independant, feudal-type states, as a result of the union of the former ones into a comprehensive state formation.

Written sources and archeological finds come to prove that such political formations had existed as early as the 8th—9th century, so that, during the subsequent centuries they got an even more marked shape all over the territory inhabited by the Romanian people : in Transylvania, in Wallachia, in Moldavia and at the Lower Danube. One of the basic traits, recorded by documents, was the resistance put up to the trends of foreign domination in order to preserve their autonomy. They had to defend their independence against Magyar domination in Transylvania, against Byzantine domination at the Lower Danube, against the Russian kniazates in Moldavia, and all of them against the Petchenegs, Kuman, and later on, against the Mongolian-Tartar domination.

Their strivings and efforts were successful and the outcome was the setting up of the three Romanian feudal states : Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia (12th c. — mid-14th c.). Placed at a crossroads of evils and the interests of the neighbouring states — Hungarian, Ottoman, Polish and

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Russian — the Romanian countries were compelled to defend their freedom with many and hard sacrifices all along centuries, but they have always risen in this rightful struggle with valiance and dignity. The Romanian epos, the heroism of the Romanian people, of the armed people's mass, stirred the admiration of our friends and kindled the envy of our foes, but both were interested in winning the Romanians as allies and friends.

The Ottoman Empire concluded agreements (the well-known capitulations), confining itself with receiving the annual tribute or other taxes in cash or in kind as a compensation for peace, in exchange of which it recognized the internal autonomy of the Romanian people ; the Hungarians were compelled to recognize the independence of Wallachia and Moldavia and a broad autonomy to Transylvania on the grounds of the treaties concluded on equal footing ; the Poles and the Russians recognized Moldavia's independence within the ethnical frontiers of the Romanian people on the basis of the 14th-18th c. bilateral treaties. The western countries sought the alliance of the Romanian lands during difficult circumstances, as they did during the reigns of Iancu de Hunedoara, of Prince Ştefan cel Mare, Michael the Brave — who completed the first union of the Romanian countries. Their envoys have always been welcome and listened to with great interest at the European Courts. Diplomatic sources and narratives, preserved in Romanian and foreign archives — the most illustrative being reproduced in the present volume — provide data on the Romanian people's struggle in defence of their national entity, for freedom, independence and unity.

Readers may also find in these documents other significant aspects in the life of a dignified people, which have always staunchly defended its rightful and justified rights and belongings : their self-awareness, their desire of unity on the grounds of the Daco-Roman origins, language and culture, customs and traditions, aspirations and ideals. Their self-awareness was not only the prerogative of an unsignificant number of scholars —, it has had much larger scope as it enflamed the minds and souls of the many, of a whole nation. It was from both scholars and the people at large

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that foreign humanists learned about their self-awareness which they described in their writing as a great discovery.

And these unbiased and unprejudiced documents also attest to the ethno-demographic situation in the Romanian countries : the overwhelming majority in Wallachia and Moldavia was formed of Romanians alongside of whom lived numerically unsignificant groups of Greeks, Armenians, Ruthenians ; the greatest majority — 63 to 70 per cent of the Transylvanian population was formed of autochtonous Romanians, alongside of whom lived Hungarians, Szeklers, a couple of Serbians and Ruthenians, all together summing up the remaining 30—35 per cent. This ethno-demographic structure comes to explain the characterisation made by Empress Maria Theresa "Principatus nostrum Valachicus".

Overcoming hardships and enmities, the Romanian people succeeded in creating valuable cultural assets, recognized at their own time, and gaining even greater praise with every passing year or century, as they got better understood and valued : monuments of religious and lay art, the outcome of the original synthesis of the Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque styles ; humanist, pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment works of a historical, geographic, ethnographic and religious character, written by great scholars like Nicolaus Olahus, Dimitrie Cantemir, Constantin Cantacuzino, Nicolae Milescu, etc. ; secondary and higher education schools disseminated culture not only in the Romanian Countries, but all through the South-European area.

As times went on, the Romanian people's self-awareness grew greater scopes, turning gradually into a national consciousness. At that development stage of the Romanian society, the Romanian people was more and more aware of all injustice suffered, and thence forward its wish — turned into trends, into struggles for social and national emancipation — got well-marked and outspoken shapes, well-defind, defended and demonstrated : social movements took place epitomized by national awareness on the occasion of the union of the Romanian countries by Michael the Brave's sharp mind and brave sword, or later on so often in the subsequent centuries, throughout the 18th century, culminating in the 1784 people's war led by Horea, Cloşca and Crişan ; the 18th century

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and national movements are completed by the vindicating memoranda, beginning with the Supplex of 1744 submitted to the Court of Vienna by Bishop Inochentie Micu up to the Supplex of 1791 of all the Romanian nation of Transylvania.

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11

1199, Fragment from the letter addressed by Pope Innocent III to Ioniță, King of the Romanians and of the Bulgarians.

Bishop Innocent, etc., to the noble man Ioniță, etc.

God, our Supreme Lord, considered the piety and your good faith in the Roman Church and He bestowed upon you His great protection during the hard and dangerous wars and by His grace He also prodigiously led you to your grandeur. And, as I have learned that you and your forefathers originate from the noble kin of Rome, and that you have inherited their noble blood and the pure feelings of faith to the Apostolic See, as a rightly inherited law, we have since long written to you or have let you know through my envoys, that I should like to pay a visit to you.

The chroniclers of the Fourth Crusade, which ended with the Conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the establishment of the Eastern Latin Empire, have furnished, alongside with the Byzantine chroniclers, rich information on the South-Danubian Romanians. Worth mentioning would be Robert de Clari, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Henri de Valenciennes, Nichita Choniates, Theodore Skutariotes, and others. Robert de Clari, Anabertus, the chronicles of the Fourth crusade and, particularly the *Chronique de Morée*, provide a lot of data on Valahia (Wallachia) and the Vlahi.

Under the leadership of Petru and Asan brothers, the Balkan Vlahi rose up against the Byzantine Empire and succeeded with the support of the North-Danubian Vlahi and of the Cumans, in setting up the second Czarate, mentioned by chroniclers and documents of the time, as the Romanian-Bulgarian Czarate. This Czarate witnessed a military Asan (called by the Byzantines Kaloiannes), and his battles with the Latin Emperor of Byzantine, Baldwin of Flanders, end up with Ioniță's victory and the capture of the Emperor as a prisoner.

In order to have this Romanian political establishment recognized and

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17

Summus Pontifex, devotione erga Apostolicam Sedem Bulgariae regis audita, litteris et nuntiis eum visitare dignatur.

ANNO 1199 mense dec.–22 febr. 1200

Reg. Vat. 4, a. II, fol. 208v, n. 266. — Vat. Lat. 6091, fol. 63.

Edd. Bal. I, 513. — *MPL* 214, 825. — A. Theiner, *Mon. slav. merid.* I, 11. — *Mon. Hung. hist. dipl.* XI, 301. — Dujčev Iv. *Epistolae ad Bulgariae hist. spectantes*, in Annuaire de l'Université à Sofia T. XXXVII, 3 (1942). — Po I, n. 931.

Nobili viro Iohannitio.

Respexit Dominus humilitatem tuam et devotionem, quam erga Romanam Ecclesiam cognosceris hactenus habuisse, et te inter tumultus bellicos et guerrarum discrimina non solum potenter defendit, sed et mirabiliter et misericorditer dilatavit. Nos autem audito, quod de nobili Urbis Romae prosapia progenitores tui originem traxerint, et tu ab eis et sanguinis generositatem contraxeris, et sinceræ devotionis affectum, quem ad apostolicam sedem geris quasi hereditatis iure, iampridem te proposuimus litteris et nuntiis visitare. Sed variis Ecclesiae sollicitudinibus detenti hactenus non potuimus nostrum propositum adimplere. Nunc vero inter alias sollicitudines nostras hanc etiam assumendam duximus, imo consummandam potius iamdudum assumptam, ut per legatos et litteras nostras te in laudabili foveamus proposito et ⟨in⟩ devotione sedis apostolicae solidemus. Dilectum itaque filium nostrum Dominicum, archipresbyterum Graecorum de Brundusio ad te personaliter destinantes; Monemus nobilitatem tuam et exhortamur in Domino, ac per apostolica tibi scripta mandamus, quatenus ipsum humiliter et devote recipiens, honorifice et benigne pertractes, et per eum plenius nobis tuam devotionem exponas. Cum enim plene nobis per ipsum de sinceritate tui propositi et devotionis affectu constiterit, ad te proposuimus maiores nuntios vel Legatos potius destinare, qui tam te quam tuos in apostolicae sedis dilectione confirment, et te de benevolentia nostra efficiant certiorem.

Bulgariae principis erga Apostolicam Sedem devotio.

Nuntius personaliter a Romano Pontifice destinatus honorifice ac devote pertractandus sit.

Maiores nuntii vel Legati.

Caloioannes, aliter Iohannitius, Aseni et Petri, Bulgariae principum, frater et successor, verusque secundi Bulgarorum regni fundator (ca. 1196 a.), acceptis his litteris, variis impeditus difficultatibus demum 1202 a. responsum Papae misit, quo plenius sua Romano Pontifici desideria exposuit (Appendix I, n. 8 A).

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consolidated, Ioniță Asan addressed himself to Pope Innocent III. The correspondence exchanged between the Pope and Ioniță mentions several times of the latter's Roman origins.

Acta Innocenti, P.P. III (1198—1216) *e registris Vaticanis altisque eruit, introductione auxit, nostique illustravit*, edited by P. Theodosius Haluscynskyj, Vatican, 1944, p. 207. Latin original.

12

1203. Fragment from the letter addressed by Pope Innocent III to Ioniță, the King of the Bulgarians and of the Romanians.

...Thus, taking this into account, we have decided since long, through our envoy or our letters, that we should pay a visit to your lordship, so that, realizing your faith to the Roman Church, Your Mother, we might then send to you, who say that you are a descendent of the noble kin of the Romans, highly ranked envoys to advise, by their word and good example, yourself and your people, and to assure you of the goodwil and grace of the Apostolic See.

...Thus, we earnestly request from your lordship and urge you to receive, in the name of God the Father, our minister, as if he were ourselves, and try to pay him the honour he deserves, accepting, in your turn, his good advice and order, making him being received and preserved by all the Church of the Bulgarians and Romanians. As, he will help you to be a Roman in this wordly life and for your Eternal Salvation by your own strivings, the same as you are by your descent ; and he shall help the people of your country, which say that they are the Romans' blood and flesh, to follow the teachings of the Roman Church, so that you might prove that you are serving God, too, as [your] forefathers used to do.

Augustino Theiner *Vetera monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*, Tomus primus, 1198—1549, Romae, Typis Vaticanis, 1863, p. 21. Latin original.

13

1203. Fragment from the letter addressed by Pope Innocent III to Basil the Metropolitan of Bulgaria.

...Therefore, we, who have been appointed by the will of God the Father, unworthy as we are, as vicars and successors of the Apostolic See, to prove by the force of facts our fatherly love for the Church of the Bulgarians and of the Romanians, who are said to be the descendants of the

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Romans, by their flesh and blood, we have since long decided to send to your beloved son, the noble man Ioaniţiu, King of the Bulgarians and of the Romanians, our beloved (son), the Archbishop of Brindisi, to strengthen both Ioaniţiu and his Christian subjects, in their obedience to the Apostolic See, and, on his return, to assure us of their unstained faith and pure love...

Augustino Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*. Tomus primus, 1198—1549, Romae, Typis Vaticanis, 1863, p. 22. Latin original.

14

Simon of Keza, *Chronicon Hungarorum*, Data on the Romanians of Pannonia and Transylvania.

The cities of Pannonia, Pamphilia, Macedonia, Dalmatia and Frygia had been laid waste by the Huns' pillage and beleaguers, who having left their native soil, had gone, with Attila's approval, to Apullia, on the Adriatic ; the Blachi — their ministers and colonists — remained on their own will in Pannonia.

...After Ethela's sons have all passed away, together with the Scythian people in the Crumbelt war, Pannonia had been left kingless for ten long years, when only strangers remained in those places : the S(c)laves, the Greeks, the Teutons, the Mesians and Vlahs, who during Ethela's lifetime have served him as slaves.

Three thousand men were still left, those who escaped by taking to flight from the Crimildine war and, who feared the western peoples, had remained in the plain of Chigla, down to the times of Attila. For these Zaculians are remains from the Huns, who, when finding out that the Hungarians came back to Pannonia, had turned out in their way from Ruthenia, and after conquering together Pannonia, they gained part of it for themselves, but not in the Pannonian Plain, but shared the fate of the Blachi, in the mountains. Therefore, they mingled with the Blachi, and it seems that they even use their letters in writing.

The Hungarian chronicler Simon of Keza (2nd half of the 13th C.) notes the fact that the Romanians lived in Pannonia before the arrival of the Hungarians, and in Transylvania, before the settlement of the Szecklers, who are said to have formed the Hungarians' vanguard in the battles waged for the conquest of the Intra-Carpathian Romanian territory.

Gesta Hunnorum et Hungarorum, Chap. IV, §§ 1, 7, 6. Latin original.

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15

The anonymous notary of King Bela, *Gesta Hungarorum*, On the battles between the Romanian political formations and the Hungarians.

And he spoke words of praise about the soil of Pannonia, which he said it was outstandingly rich. For, as they sustained, the most reputed sources of water, the Danube and the Tisa, are crossing that land, as well as other reputed rivers swarming with good fish [4]. That this country is inhabited by the Szecklers, the Slaves, Bulgarians and Blachs, that is the Roman's shepherds.

For, after king Attila's death, the Romans called the soil of Pannonia a graze field as, their herds used to graze in the country of Pannonia. And they were right in calling the Pannonian soil the grazing fields of the Romans [5], as even nowadays, the Romanians feed their sheep on the Hungarian estates. But leave this alone !

The battles of the Hungarians for the conquest of the land of Bihor.

After a couple of days, having taken council with his noblemen, the Duke of Arpad sent his envoys to the fortress of Bihor to Duke Menumorut, to ask hin, on behalf of the rights of King Attila, his ancestor, to yield all the territories stretching from the river Someş to the Nir and the gate of Mezesyna.

But, Arpad's envoys, Usubuu and Veluc [6] forded the river Tisza at Lucy. And, after having started again, they reached the fortress of Bihor and greeted Duke Menomorut and presented him the gifts conveyed by their Duke. But eventually they let him know Duke Arpad's message and raised pretentions on the territory we mentioned above. And Duke Menumorut received them with goodwill and tempted them with various gifts, and, on the third day he asked them to go back home. Nevertheless, he gave them an answer, by saying : "Tell Arpad, the Duke of Hungary, your Lord. We owe him as much as a friend owes to his friend, and he needs a lot, as he is a

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[4] The Ruthenians sustained it.

[5] *Pascua Romanorum* or *Pastores Romanorum* are phrases which designate the presence of the Romanians in Pannonia at the moment when the Hungarians made their appearance. Odo de Deogilo (Deuil), a participant in the Second Crusade (1147) speaks of Julius Caesar's grazing fields (fabula Julii Caesaris). Ricardus the Dominican, affirms in his *Ungaria Magna* (1237) that Hungary was called *pascua Romanorum* on the arrival of the Hungarians. Thomas de Spalato (active by the middle of the 13 th c.) wrote that Hungary was *pascua Romanorum* (Hoc regio dicitur antiquitus fuisse *pasqua Romanorum*). *The Chronicon rhytmicum Sitticense*, written after the Tartar invasion of 1241, says that the kingdom of the Hungarian was called *pascua Romanorum*. Finally, in *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, compiled in 1308, mention is made of the existence of the Romanians of Thessalia, called *pastores romanorum*, and inhabitting Hungary, where they were *pascua romanorum*. In contradiction to other medieval chroniclers, Anonymus, made older information on Romanians meet the ethnical realities in contemporary Hungary and was thus the first to establish a connection between Romanians and *pascua romanorum*, the Romanians being thus considered the descendants of the Romans.

[6] Mentioned also as Velec, in the chronicle.

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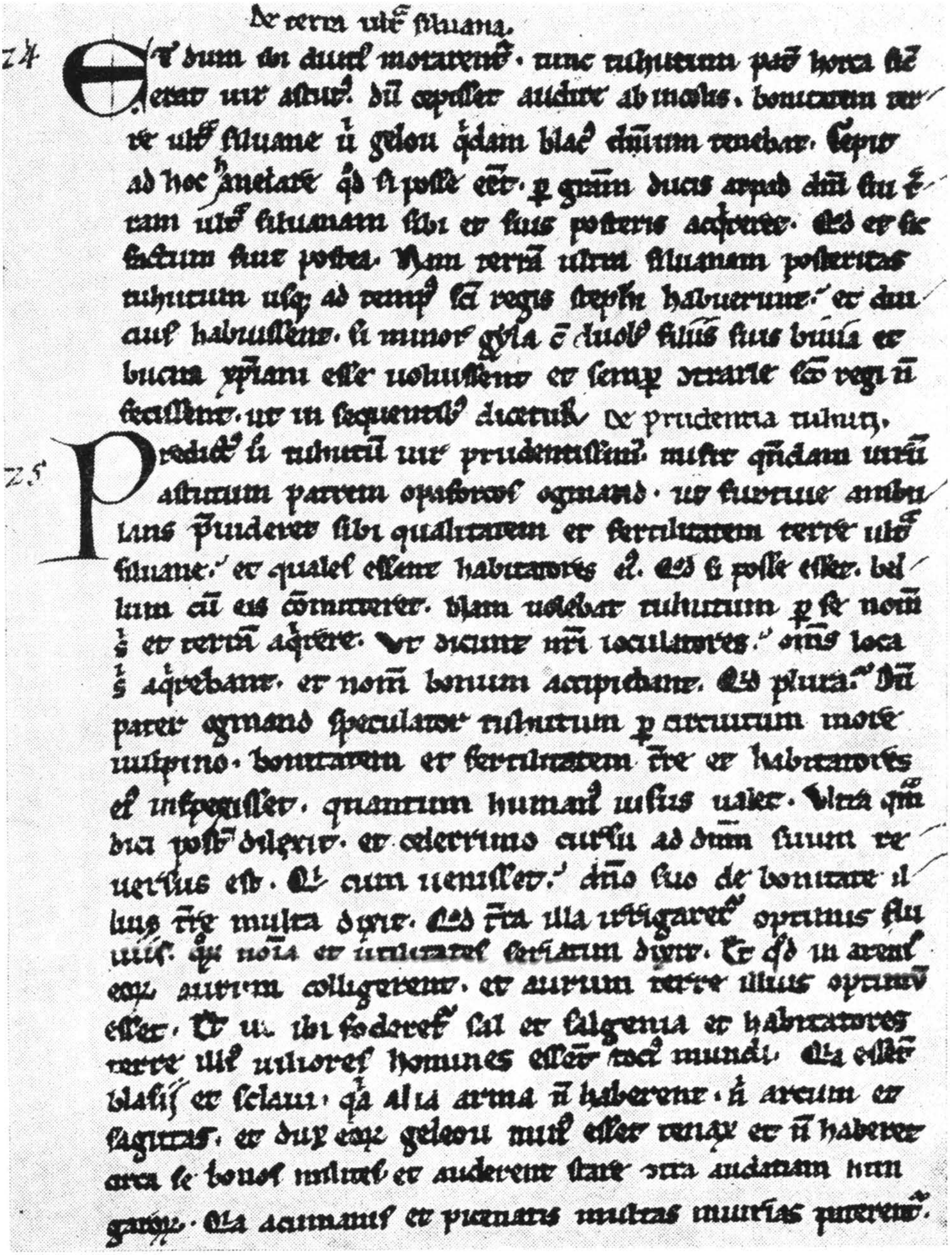
De terra ultrasilvana.
24 Et dum ibi diutius morarentur, tunc Tuhutum pater Horca sic
ut erat vir astutus, dum cepisset audire ab incolis bonitatem ter-
re ultrasilvane, ubi Gelou quidam Blacus dominium tenebat, cepit
ad hoc anhelare, quod si posset fieri, per gratiam ducis Arpad domini sui ter-
ram ultrasilvanam sibi et suis posteris acquireret. Quod et sic
factum fuit postea. Nam terram ultra silvanam posteritas
Tuhutum usque ad tempus sancti regis Stephani habuerunt, et diu-
tius habuissent, si minor Gyla cum duobus filiis suis Biuia et
Bucna christiani esse voluissent et semper contrarie sancto regi non
fecissent, ut in sequentibus dicturi sumus. De prudentia Tuhutum.
25 Predictus siquidem Tuhutum vir prudentissimus misit quendam virum
astutum patrem Opafarcos Ogmand, ut furtive ambu-
lans previderet sibi qualitatem et fertilitatem terre ultra-
silvane, et quales essent habitatores eius. Quod si posset esse, bel-
lum cum eis committeret. Nam volebat Tuhutum per se nomen
sibi et terram acquirere. Ut dicunt nostri ioculatores, omnes loca
sibi acquirebant et nomen bonum accipiebant. Quid plura? Dum
pater Ogmand speculator Tuhutum per circuitum more
vulpino bonitatem et fertilitatem terre et habitatores
eius inspexisset, quantum humanus visus valet, ultra quam
dici potest dilexit et celerrimo cursu ad dominum suum re-
versus est. Qui cum venisset, domino suo de bonitate il-
lius terre multa dixit. Quod terra illa irrigaretur optimis flu-
viis, quorum nomina et utilitates seriatim dixit. Et quod in arenis
eorum aurum colligerent, et aurum terre illius optimum
esset. Et ut ibi foderetur sal et salgema, et habitatores
terre illius viliores homines essent tocius mundi. Quia essent
Blasii et Sclavi, quia alia arma non haberent nisi arcum et
sagittas, et dux eorum Gelou minus esset tenax et non haberet
circa se bonos milites et auderent stare contra audaciam Hun-
garorum, quia a Cumanis et Picenatis multas iniurias paterentur.

Doc. 15 a

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De Terra Ult[ra]siluana

Et dum ibi diuti[us] morarent[ur], tunc Tuhutum pat[er] Horca, sic[ut] erat uir astut[us], du[m] cepisset audire ab incolis bonitatem terre Ult[ra]siluane, u[b]i Gelou q[ui]dam Blac[us] [domi]nium tenebat, cepit ad hoc hanelare [1], q[u]od si posse e[ss]et, p[er] gr[ati]am ducis Arpad d[omi]ni sui t[er]ram Ultr[ra]siluanam sibi et suis posteris acq[u]ireret. Q[u]od, et sic factum fuit postea. Nam terra[m] Ultrasiluanam posteritas Tuhutum usq[ue] ad temp[us] s[an]c[t]i regis Steph[an]i habuerunt, et diucius habuissent, si minor Gyla c[um] duob[us] filiis suis Biuia et Bucna chr[ist]iani esse uoluissent et semp[er] [con]trarie s[an]c[t]o regi n[on] fecissent, ut in sequentib[us] dicetur. De prudentia Tuhutj.

Predict[us] u[er]o Tuhutu[m] uir prudentissim[us] misit q[ue]ndam uiru[m] astutum, patrem Opaforcos Ogmand, ut furtiue ambulans p[re]uideret sibi qualitatem et fertilitatem terre Ult[ra]siluane, et quales essent habitatores ei[us]. Q[u]od si posse esset, bellum cu[m] eis co[m]mitteret. Nam uolebat Tuhutum p[er] se nom[en] s[ib]i et terra[m] aq[u]irere. Vt dicunt n[ost]ri ioculatores: om[ne]s loca s[ib]i aq[u]irebant, et nom[en] bonum accipiebant. Q[u]id plura? Du[m] pater Ogmand, speculator Tuhutum, p[er] circuitum more uulpino bonitatem et fertilitatem t[er]re et habitatores ei[us] inspexisset, quantum human[us] uisus ualet, vltra q[ua]m dici po[te]st dilexit, et celerrimo cursu ad d[omi]n[u]m suum reuersus est. Q[u]i cum uenisset, d[omi]no suo de bonitate illius t[er]re multa dixit. Q[u]od t[er]ra illa irrigaret[ur] optimis fluuiis, q[u]o[rum] no[m]i[n]a et utilitates seriatim dixit. Et q[u]od in arenis eo[rum] aurum colligerent, et aurum terre illius optimv[m] esset. Et ut ibi foderet[ur] sal et salgenia, et habitatores terre illi[us] uiliores homines esse[nt] toci[us] mundi. Q[u]ia esse[n]t Blasij et Sclaui, q[u]ia alia arma n[on] haberent, n[isi] arcum et sagittas, et dux eo[rum] Geleou min[us] esset tenax et n[on] haberet circa se bonos milites, et auderent stare [con]tra audatiam Hungaro[rum], q[u]ia a Cumanis et Piicenatis multas iniurias paterent[ur].

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[1]. Corect: anhelare

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stranger and his wants are great. The territory he required from our good will shall never be ceded to him, as long as we are alive. We deplore the fact that Duke Salanus has yielded a very great territory, prompted by his love as they say, or by fear, which he denies. As for us, neither love nor fear will ever prompt us to cede him the tiniest piece of land, whatever right he maintains he has got over us. But his words do not trouble our hearts, as he showed us that he descends from the kin of King Attila, who was also called the Whip of God. And even he had robbed this land by violent means from my ancestors, now, thanks to my lord, the Emperor of Constantinople, nobody can ever snatch it from my hands". And, by uttering this, he let them go. Then, Usubuu and Veluc, King Arpad's envoys, rushed back to their master. And when they arrived there, they conveyed Menumorut's message. And, when King Arpad and his noblemen, found it out, they all flied into passion and ordered an army to go against them immediately. They decided Tosu should go, father of Lelu and Zobolsu, son to Eleud, the parent of Saac kin as well as Tuhtum, father of Horca, grandfather of Gelu and Zumbor[7], parent of the Moglout kin. They took leave of Duke Arpad, and started with great an army, and forded the Tisza river at Ladea, facing no resistance whatsoever. The next day, they rode along the Tisa heading for the river Someş, and camped out in present-day Zobolsu. And there, almost all the inhabitants of this country submitted on their own will, and threw themselves to their feet, and gave them their own children over as hostages lest they should suffer some misfortune. As they had scared almost all the peoples, and there were some who took a narrow escape by running away, and arriving at Menumorut, they let him know about their deeds. When he took knowledge of this, Menumorut was struck with horror, and did not dare to raise his hand any more, as all the inhabitants were scared so much by the news that Duke Almus, was a direct descendant of king Attila's kin.

The Hungarians succeeded in conquering Bihor, and after several incursions which ended in their dominion over the greatest part of Pannonia, they organised a new inroad against Bihor.

Menumorut finding out that Usubuu and Velec, Duke Arpad's most reputed generals, came upon him with strong troops, preceded by the Szecklers, he was terribly frightened and did not dare to face them, as he had heard that Duke Arpad and his men were valiant in war that they had driven away the Romans of Pannonia, and that they plundered the territories of the Moravian Carinthians, that several thousand people have been put to their swords, that they conquered the Kingdom of Pannonia and their enemies flew away. Then, Duke Menumorut, leaving his soldiers in the fortress of Byhor, took to flight together with his wife and his daughter and tried to take an escape in the Ygfon woods. Usubuu and Velec with their whole army rode merrily against the Byhor fortress and settled their camp by the river Iuzos. The third day, they organized their armies and left for the Belland castrum, and from the other side, the soldiers gathered from various

[7] Other variants of this name are also known : Zubor, Zubur, Zambor.

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nations started the fight against Usubuu and his men. Usubuu and Velec slayed down with their ballistae 125 soldiers. And they went on fighting for twelve days and 20 Hungarians and 15 Szecklers were killed from among Usubuu's soldiers. But, on the thirteenth day, after the Hungarians and the Szecklers had filled in the ditches of the fortress and planned to pose stairs to the walls, Menumorut's soldiers, seeing the courage shown by the Hungarians, started to supplicate those two heads of the army, and opening the gates of the fortress, fell to their feet, in front of Usubuu and Velec, entreating them. Usubuu and Velec kept them under close watch, entered the fortress, where they came across a lot of wealth belonging to the soldiers. Menumorut was informed of all this from those who succeeded in taking an escape and he was struck with awe and so, he sent some envoys to Usubuu and Velec with various gifts and asked them to mediate peace and leave the envoys go to Duke Arpad to let him know that Menumorut, who, at first had arrogantly told him through his own envoys, prompted by his unthoughtful Bulgarian-like heart, that he refused to give him any patch of land, was willing and did not hesitate, vanquished and destroyed as he was, to give him his whole kingdom, and to Zulta, Arpad's son, he would give his own daughter. Then, Usubuu and Velec joyfully approved of his plan, and together with their delegates, they sent heralds to beg their lord, Duke Arpad, for peace. And the messengers, after having landed on the isle of Sepel, greeted Duke Arpad, and the next day, conveyed him Menumorut's message. Duke Arpad took counsel with his noblemen and approved of and praised Menumorut's proposition and when he found out that Menumorut's daughter was of the same age with his own son Zulta, he did not take any delay in accepting Menumorut's request and accepted his daughter as a wife to Zulta, together with the promised kingdom and, sending some envoys to Usubuu and Velec, he ordered them to contract the wedding and accept Menumorut's daughter as a wife to his own son Zulta, and carry away the sons of the local inhabitants taken as hostages, but leave the fortress of Byhor to Duke Menumorut.

Description of the battles fought by the Magyar chieftain Tuhutum against Gelu, the Voivode of the Romanians

And, staying there for a longer time, Tuhtum, the father of Horca, cunning as he was, and finding out from the inhabitants of those places about the bountiful lands beyond the woods, over which a Blach called Gelu was reigning, started to sigh and long for obtaining, through Duke Arpad's grace, the land beyond the woods for him and his descendants. Which eventually happened in fact. As the Ultra-Sylvanian land was owned by Tuhutum's followers until King Stephen the Saint's times, and they would have gone on reigning over it if Gyla the Younger would have accepted to Christianize himself, together with his two sons Biuia[8] and Bucna[9] and would not have plotted against the blessed king, as we may see from the following lines.

[8] Other variants in the chronicle : Biie (Byie), Bue, Buia.
[9] Another form of the same name : Bucne.

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The above-mentioned Tuhutum, a very cautious man, sent a shrewd man, Ocmand [10], father of Opaforcus, to try and stealthily find out about the quality and fertility of the Ultrasylvanian soil, and about the kind of people inhabiting it and the possibilities of fighting them. For Tuhutum wanted to gain both name and land for himself, as our musicians say : "all have conquered land and gained a good name ? What can I say more". When Ogmand [10], Tuhutum's spy, going around like a fox, saw as far as a man's eye could see, how bountiful and fruitful that land was and the men which were there, he was overwhelmed by pleasure, and, rushed back to his lord. And when he arrived there, he told his lord a lot about the goodness of that country : that the land was watered by the best rivers, whose names and use he recalled one by one, that the sand of their beds contained gold, and that the gold that country boasted of was the best, that in some other places, salt could be extracted as well as other salted matters and that the inhabitants of that country were the neediest in the world. That they were Blachs and Slaves who had no other weapon than their sparrows and arches, and that their Duke, Gelu, was not a very steadfast man, and that he was not surrounded by good soldiers, and wouldn't dare to go against the Hungarians' courage, as he had troubles enough with the Kumanians and the Petchenegs.

Then, Tuhutum, realizing the virtues of that country, sent envoys to Duke Arpad and asked him to be allowed to cross the woods and fight with Gelu. Nevertheless, Duke Arpad, after the counsel taken, praised Tuhutum's proposition and permitted him to go beyond the woods and fight against Gelu. When his envoy told him this, Tuhutum prepared his soldiers, and after leaving his comrades behind, he went eastwards, beyond the woods, against Gelu, the Duke of the Blachs. And Gelu, the ultra-sylvan Duke, hearing of his coming against him, gathered his army and rode at great speed to meet and stop him at the Mezeş gate. But Tuhutum, succeeded in crossing the woods in one single day, and reached the Almaş river. Then both armies came face to face, divided by the river alone. And Duke Gelu and his archers tried to stop them there.

Early in the morning, just before dawn, Tuhutum split his army into two parts and sent the second half, upward, along the river, so that they might cross it and start the fight by coming upon Gelu's soldiers unaware. And so it happened. And, as the crossing had been far from being difficult, the two lines were ready to fight at the same time. And they fought fiercely, but Duke Gelu's men were defeated and a lot of them killed, and even more taken a prisoner. When Duke Gelu saw what happened, he fled away with just a few of his men, to save his life. And, as he was running at great speed towards his fortress, placed near the river Zomus, Tuhutum's soldiers, following him closely, caught him and killed him near the river Copus. When the inhabitants of that country saw that their lord was dead, they hold out their hands and, on their own will, elected Tuhutum, Horca's father, as their ruler. And, in the locality called Esculeu, they sanctioned their pledge, by taking an oath [11]. And since that day this locality has been called Esculeu,

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[10] Ocmand = Ogmand, so in the original.

[11] The Hungarians tried to maintain their political rights over Transylvania by stating that this Romanian country had been conquered by sword. But Anonymus' chronicle testifies to

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as it was there where the oath had been taken. And Tuhutum, was father to Horca, Horca was father to Geula and Zabor. Geula had two daughters, Caroldu and Saroltu. Saroltu was king Stephen the Saint's mother, Zubor was the father of Geula the Younger, Buc and Bucue's father, in whose times, King Stephen the Saint subdued the Ultrasylvanian land. He even had Geula bound and carried away to Hungary, where the latter was put in jail for life for being a pagan and denying Christianity and for having worked against King Stephen the Saint, in spite of his being a close relative on his mother's side.

The battles of the Magyar Chieftains Zuardu [12], Cadusa and Boyta with Vlad, the Duke of the Romanians of Banat. Before setting out against Carinthia and the incursion into Lombardy, the Hungarians made an attempt at conquering Glad's dukedom, which corresponds with the present Banat; the three chieftains crossed the Tisza at Kenesna and settled near the Sextureg river.

They found there no foe daring to raise his hand against them, as all people in that country had been horrorstricken. And, they went on and reached the Beguey, where they stationed for two weeks, until all the inhabitants of that homeland, from the river Mureş to the great river Timiş, submitted to them and yielded their sons in as hostages. Then, leaving with the army, they approached the Timiş river and stationed their camp near the Sands Valley. And when they were preparing themselves to ford the great river Timiş, they met in their way Glad, a forefather of Othun [13], and Duke of that country, together with a great army of horse and footmen, supported by the Kumans, the Bulgarians and the Wallachians. The next day, nevertheless, as none of the two armies had been able to cross the great river Timiş which flowed between them, Zuardu assigned his brother Cadusa, to go down the river, and ford the river by hook or by crook with half of the troops, and break out the attack against the enemies; Cadusa, followed immediately his brother's advice and rode with half of the army lower down the river, as fast as he could. And as God's grace sided with them, the crossing was an easy job. And, when part of the Hungarian's army was on our bank of the river, together with Cadusa, and the other half, together with Zuard, was on the other bank, the Hungarians blew their war trumpets and swimming across the river they started a fierce fight. And, as they enjoyed the help of God, He gave them a great victory, and the enemies fell at their feet like wheat sheaves behind reapers. And, two dukes of the Kumans and three knezes of the Bulgarians were killed in this war. And, Glad himself, their duke fled away and saved his skin, while his whole army melt like wax under fire and was slayed by sword-edge. Then, Zuard and Cadusa and Boyta, left the places and reached victorious the Bulgarian borders and cam-

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the fact that neither the Bihor nor Transylvania could be conquered by the force of arms alone, the Hungarians being obliged to come to terms with the Romanians or with their leaders.

[12] Zuardu, or Zouard, Zuard, Zouarda.

[13] Oktun = Ahtun, so in the original.

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ped near the Ponoucea river. And, as mentioned before, Duke Glad fled away and, for fear of the Hungarians, took shelter into the Kevea fortress. And, on the third day, Zuard and Cadusa, as well as Boyta, from whose kin Brucsa descends, positioned their armies against the Kevea fortress and launched the attack. On seeing this, Duke Glad sent them his envoy to ask for peace, and yielded voluntary the fortress and made them various presents. Proceeding further, they conquered the fortress of Ursora, where they lived for a month and sent Boyta to Duke Arpad with a third of the army together with the sons of the local inhabitants taken as hostages [14].

The Anonymus Chronicle (P. Dictus magister quodam regis *Bele notarius)* was compiled on the information contained in an older document, *Gesta Hungarorum* (The Deeds of the Hungarians), written during the reign of King Ladislaus the Saint (1077—1095). Anonymus made a detailed description of the battles waged by the Hungarians with the autochtonous population — the Romanians and the Ruthenians — on their way to the Pannonian Plain. The Ruthenians advised Arpad, the leader of the Hungarians, to settle down beyond the Hovos woods, to the west, in Pannonia, who had formerly been Attila's land. In this zone there still lived Romanians who put up a fierce resistance and staunchly defeated their territory and state life.

Anonymi bele regis notarii, *Gesta Hungarorum*, Chap. IX, XIX, XX, XXIV, XXVII, XLIV, LI. Latin original.

16

Fäzl ol Lah Räšid, od-Din, *Djami'ot Tevarikh*, On the History of the Princes of Däst-i Kîpčak, on the battles between the Tartars and the Romanians in 1241.

In the autumn of *kulkana yïl*, the Year of the Mouse, corresponding to the months six hundred and thirty-seven, when Güyük Khan and Möngka Kaan came back from Däšt-i Kîpčak, on order of the Yarlik of Kaan, Prince Batu and his brethren Kadan and Büri and Böcek set out against the country of Urus and the Kulan-e Siyahan people, and in nine odd ways they captured the great city of the Uruses, called Mänkerman. And then, all the cities of Uladimur. They progressed, unit after unit, and conquered all the citadels

[14] Glad could not be removed and he was able to keep his Dukedom by recognizing the supremacy of the Duke of the Hungarians. After the defeat of the Hungarians in 966 by Otto I ("the Great"), the Banate and Intra-Carpathian Transylvania shirked completely the authority of the Duke of Hungary, which prompted King Stephen I to fight against Tuhutum's descendants and against Ahtum, Glad's follower. As a matter of fact, the Banate, preserved its autonomy and the Romanians obtained some privileges guaranteeing their liberties in exchange of some military obligations and tolls paid to the king.

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and countries which they came across on their way. They joined their forces to lay siege on the city of Uč oghul Uladimur, which they conquered in three days.

And in *hukar yïl*, the year of Ogädäy Kaan's death, in full spring, they crossed the mountains Yaprak Tak towards Polari and Bašghurzi.

And Orda and Baydar, on the right flank, after having passed through the Ilavut cuntry, encountered and overcame the said Barz with his army.

And Kadan and Büri, heading for the Sasan people, they vanquished it after three battles.

And Böček, proceeding on the road of the Black Wallachia (Kara Ulagh) through the mountains, defeated that Ulagh people (akra-i ulagh). And, therefore they entered the woods and the mountains of Yaprak Tak (Bayak Buk or Babak Tok) at the borders of Mišelev and overcame the enemies who were waiting there in fighting readiness.

And the princes, going along these five mentioned roads, conquered all the countries of the Bašghurds, Mačars and Sasans, put to flight their padishah, Keler, and spent the summer on the rivers Tisa and Tunha.

And Kadan started on an expedition with his army and conquered the countries of Takut and Uyrad and Saran and put to rout the king (Kîral), the padishah of the countries, as far as the seacoast. And when the latter [15] came aboard a ship, moored at the seaside [16], by the city of Telekîn, and sailed away, Katan turned back.

And he conquered the cities of the Romanians (Ulakut) Tîrnin and Kila after some great battles.

And the news of the deaht of Kaan (Ogödäy) had not reached them yet.

The Persian scholar and statesman Fäzl ol-Lak Räšid od-Din (1247—1318) completed in the year of Hegira 710 (A.D. 1310—1311) a monumental work of World History, *Djami'ot Tevarikh* (The Sum of Histories), grounded on the Mongolian-Tartar Imperial Archives, the accounts given by eye witnesses, or on Chinese, Uighurian, Hebrew, European and other sources.

In the first part of this work, dedicated to the Turkish-Mongolian History, Räšid od-din describes the great Mongolian-Tartar invasion in Europe, in 1241—1242. The chapter, titled "The History of the Princes of Däst-i Kîpčak and of the Emeers of Khorosan and of other countries" includes a brief survey of the battles waged on the territory of Romania by the Mongolian-Tartar armies, led by Princes Kadan, Büri and Böcek. The author writes that the first two princes set out against the "people of Saan", which researchers identified as the Saxons of Eastern Transylvania, who had been colonized by the Hungarian kings in those places in the 12th century.

Greater emphasis is laid in this chapter on the Romanian (Vlagh) who were fought by Böcek's forces. The Mongolian-Tartars encountered the

[15] Bela IV, the King of Hungary.
[16] The Adriatic Sea.

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Romanians within the boundaries of a vast geographical space, fully inhabited both in the plains and the mountains area.

According to the latest scientific researches, based on the original text of this chronicle and on several other documents of the time, Böcek crossed the Romanian territory from the North-East to the South West ; he won a battle against the Romanians, probably at the bent of the Carpathian mountains, and then, crossing the South-Eastern Carpathians he went beyond the borders of the Romanian Prince Seneslau (Miselev) and crushed his resistance, passed through Oltenia and Banat and joined Büri and Cadan on the rivers Mureş and Tisa.

Rāśid od-Din mentions the existence of the Romanian-Bulgarian state at the South of the Danube when he narrates Kadan's return from his pursuit of the Magyar King Bela IV as fare as Dalmatia. On this occasion, Kadan "conquered" two cities of the Romanians *(ulakut)* namely Tîrnovo (Tîrnin) and Chilia (Kila), but after long and strenuous battles.

Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi -- Istanbul, Revan 1518, p. 148. Turkish original.

17

1247. *The Diploma of the Joannites Knights*, contains data on the Romanian political formations in Southern Transylvania, Oltenia and Wallachia.

In the name of Saint Trinity, Three in One ond One in Three, Amen. Bela, by the Grace of God, King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama, Serbia, Galicia, Lodomeria and Cumania to the end of time.

It is a request of His Royal Highness and a duty of those in higher rank, to watch, above all, with great care to the numerical growth of the subjects, for their fame and repute is enhanced the greater the number of people subjected to them is, for it is a fact that power, peace and safety of all the Kings and Kingdoms are based on their strength. Moreover, power is increased by no insignificant part of His Majesty's care to look with more kindness and bestow upon them even greater charity, which is hoped to be to the (richer) benefit of this world and to make the king of all kings even more devoutly praised. Thus, prompted by this thought, after taking long counsel with the first men and barons of our kingdom, we made this decision, together with the most venerable Rembald, High Preceptor of the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, in the parts beyond the sea, regarding the re-population of our kingdom, which after the inimical invasion perpertrated by the people called the Tartars has borne great losses, both in goods and human beings, for the said preceptor, on behalf of Knights Hospitalers, voluntarily committed himself to take arms and help our kingdom with a view to defending the Christian Faith, in keeping with the document written below, and to extend us his advice and faithful help in the population of our country, and accept also the other duties as can be seen next in the present

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letter, and for all this we grant to him and through him to the above mentioned Order, the whole Land of the Severin, together with the moutains lying there and everything belonging to that land, as well as the knyazate belonging to Voivode Litovoi, which we leave to the Romanians to be masters there as they have used to be until nowadays. Nevertheless, our grant is such that half of all the benefits and incomes and offices in the whole Land of Severin, mentioned above, and in the said knyazate shall be kept for our own use and on our descendants, while the other half shall go to the benefit on the Order mentioned above, but the churches already built or to be built in the said countries, from whose benefits we do not keep anything for ourselves — the well-known honour and rights of archbishops and bishops should nonetheless remain untouched — leaving aside all the mills within the boundaries of the said countries, already built or to be built — safe for those of the Litua land — as well as all the buildings and harvests at the expense of the brethren of the said Order, and the hayfields and grazingfields for their cattle and sheep, and the fisheries which have been or shall be made by them, which all, it is our will, to be used to the full by these brethren, except the fisheries of the Danube and in the Celeiu ponds which we keep for the use of both of us. And, we also allow half of all the incomes and benefits tolled for the king from the Romanians inhabitting the Litua Land — except the Haţeg Land and all its belongigns — to be levied by the above-mentioned Order. It is our will too, that the Romanians mentioned before should help the said brethren with their soldiers' means for the defence of the country and the defeat and punishment of all attacking enemies, and, in their turn, those brethren should, in such cases, be in duty bound to do their best and extend their support and help. Besides, they shall put at the disposal of that country and of the places toward Bulgaria, Greece and Cumania, sufficient quantities from the salt we have allowed them to use, extracted from any salt pit of Transylvania, where they think they might mine it easier at our expense and their own without touching in any way the episcopal right; similarly of the money that would circulate there by the will of the King and the decision of this Order's preceptor, in office by then, half of all sums shall be kept for us, as shown above, concerning other incomes as well, and the other half shall go to the benefit of the said Order, without touching the rights of the churches. At the same time, the regulations issued by the said Order of the Knights and the privileges granted by them to other people who are going to come and live in the said provinces, with regard to both liberties and trials, as well as the judgements and verdicts against such people, shall be approved and sanctioned by us — without damages to the other benefits deriving therefrom — with the addendum that if some sentence is pronounced (in a criminal case) upon the great men of (that) country and they would feel that an injustice had been done, they shall be allowed to appeal to our court. We also add that if some army attacks our kingdom — Heaven forbid ! — a fifth of the total number of that country's soldiers shall be in duty bound to join our army and fight in war to defend our country. And, were we to head our army toward Bulgaria, Greece or Kumania, a third of all those fit for war should join us, and the said Order shall receive its part of the movable and imovable spoils of war, in keeping with the number of soldiers from the Severin Land and of their weapons. Moreover, we have granted to the said

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Preceptor, and through him to the Knights Hospitalers Order, the whole Kumania, from the Olt river, and the Transylvanian mountains, under the same obligations as those regarding the Land of the Severin — except for the Country of Seneslau, the Voivode of the Romanians, which we have left to the Romanians to own it as they had done until now — and in keeping with the same obligation mentioned above, the Litua land in its entirety. But we do not want to overlook the fact that from the very first day the often mentioned brethren shall hold possession of those privileges, and for twenty years running, the said Order shall levy all the incomes of the Kumania country — except the mentioned country of Seneslau, and shall boast of only half of those incomes and benefits. And, henceforward, half of all the incomes, benefits and offices approved of and sworn in to His Royal Highness shall be paid to the Royal Treasury by the brethren of this Order, so that, every five years, our special envoy shall be in duty bound to reckon all incomes, benefits and offices coming therefrom. And all sums of money spent on the defense of the citadels and strongholds shall be made at our expense and at the expense of those brethren, with the exception of other terms stipulated by us or exceptions established for the Knights Hospitalers, regarding the land of Kumania, as for instance, those concerning the churches, mills and all others shown in detail in connection with the Severin. When citadels are erected in this country of Kumania, as well as when Kumania needs defense against any enemies, we shall help the brethren with our advice and careful look, and if need be and if we are called by those brethren, we shall go there personally, provided we are not hindered in doing so by other obstacles. We also grant them some land of four hundred ploughs in Feketig or somewhere else in Transylvania and we shall complete that number where we shall deem fitter for the said brethren, at the gates of the land of Kumania or in Severin, and for this gift we shall give them a special letter. Finally, for this Order of the Knight Hospitalers to have their belongings and everything they need — to the benefit of our two countries — carried easier by sea, we have granted them the citadel of Scardona, at the seaside, with all its accessories and rights, as well as the estate of Paszath, within its boundaries and its conveniences, as it had been owned by our most beloved brother, King Coloman, God rest his soul, and as it is known that I come from this estate, without any of the rights of the churches within their boundaries to be ever touched. Besides, we have granted to the said brethren the land of Woyla, near the Danube and not far of Semlin, a land that we have taken from under the domination of the Caraș citadel, together with all its appurtenances and benefits as it had been owned as perpetual property by Nicolae, Ugolin's brother. And the often-mentioned preceptor, for all the gifts we have bestowed upon him on the reasons listed below, has clearly taken the solemn pledge on behalf of the said Order, to raise in arms against all heathens, whatever people they might be, as well as against the Bulgarians and even against other-nonconformists were they to come and try to invade our kingdom or within the borders of the kingdom (and) to bring immediately in our kingdom, to our service and of our kingdom, hundred brethren well and duly equipped with soldiers, weapons and horses. Against any Christian army, which would like to intrude in our kingdom, he has pledged himself on behalf of the Order to give fifty armed brethren, to keep safe from harm

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and danger the border citadels and strongholds, like Pojon, Moson, Sopron, Cetatea de Fier (The Iron Citadel), and even less, anywhere the king would like to place them on duty, and sixty (armed brethren) against the Tartars, if it happens that they intrude upon our kingdom, Heavens forbid; and all those on duty, as long as they are watching over the citadels and strongholds, they will be duly paid, out of the royal incomes. And, it was added, in the name of the Order, that the preceptor or magister, to be sent from across the sea or from elsewhere to rule over the orders in force in our kingdom, shall be obliged on his arrival to promise, by taking the oath according to the rules of his own Order, that he and his own kin would be faithful to the king and to the kingdom, and that they would stick, without cheat or artifice, to all the provisions stipulated above, and that we would take care and strive to populate not only the mentioned lands, but also other territories of our kingdom and that the would not admit the peasants of our kingdom, of any rank or nationality they might be, as well as the Saxons and Teutons of our kingdom, to settle in the above-mentioned provinces, if they have no special royal approval. We have also added, and it was admitted by the preceptor, on behalf of the said Order, that if any of the provisions mentioned above, or some of the pledges taken by the Order, the preceptor or the magister, are not observed by himself or by the magister in office, and after the third solemn notification they would not make the necessary amends — and the High Magister over the Seas, duly notified by the King on the above, would order reparation for the wrong done, within one year of the notification about what was overlooked or unfulfilled by the said preceptor or magister in office — then, by royal judgement they would claim compensation from or punishment of those who have done the injury, by taking part of their incomes, or otherwise, according to the King's free will, in keeping with the propositions and nature of the offence. Hence, each and all of the provisions read in front of us and of our noblemen — and which we have vowed under oath, by raising our Royal hand, to keep untouched and take care they are observed as long as the duties assumed by the above mentioned Order would last — shall be strengthened with perpetual powers, as it rests upon us to do so and, therefore, we have issued the present letter, legalized by our golden bulla, and we ordered that the said preceptor, on behalf of the Knights Hospitalers Order, be *de facto* given full powers, in the name of the royal authority, by our beloved and faithful Achilles, the praepositus of Alba, Vice-chancellor of our Royal Court.

Written and signed by the hand of Venerable Father Benedict, Archbishop of Calocea and Chancellor of our Court, the Venerable Father Stephen (being) Archbishop of Strigoniu, the Bishop Bartholomeus of Pecs, Stephen of Zagreb, Basil of Cenad, Pousa of Bosnia, Artolf of Győr, Zaland of Vesprim, Vincent of Oradea, Heimond of Vatz, Gal of Transylvania, Lampret of Agria, all good preachers in God Our Lord's churches; Rectislau, Illustrious Duke of Galicia and Ban of all Slavonia, Stephen, the Palatine Comites, Laurence, the Voivode of Transylvania, Dyonisios, the High Treasurer and Count of Pojon, Roland, the Judge of our Royal Court, Mauriciu, High Steward and Count of Nitra, Chak, the High Commissioner and Count of Sopron, Baghin, the High Cupbearer and Count of Bana, the Counts Pavel of Solonc, Benedict of Mosar, Nicolae of Zala, another Nicolae of Cetatea

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de Fier, Henric of Somogy, Severit of Fejér, and many other rulers of our counties and high ranking officers of our Kingdom.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred fourty-seven, on the fourth day before the nones of June, in the twelfth year of our reign.

At the beginning of the 13th century, the Hungarians succeeded in conquering the South-Eastern corner of Transylvania, and colonized the Teutonic Knights in the Bîrsa Land, simultaneously with the efforts made by the Hungarian kings to expand their domination east of the Carpathians. The great invasion of 1241, annihilated these tendencies and disorganized the feudal Magyar state, weakening its military capacity. The Hungarian domination was most precarious at the date in Transylvania, too, on account of the frequent Tartar inroads through the Carpathian passes and the pillaging of that country. To prevent the Tartar invasions in the kingdom, King Bela IV, settled the Johannite Knights in the Banate of Severin in 1247. He granted them then the document known as the Diploma of the Joannites Knights. The Diploma mentions the existence of several Romanians political formations: the voivodates of Litovoi and Seneslau and the knyazates of Ioan and Farcaş. Of paramount importance is the size of Litovoi's Voivodate which included Oltenia (Wallachia Minor). This means that by the middle of the 13th century part of Southern Transylvania inhabited by Romanians alone, the same as it is today, was not under direct domination of the Hungarian king. It was only as late as 1270, that a comitius was mentioned in these parts, and his presence might be explained by Litovoi's defeat. The Diploma of the Johannites Knights furnished also precious data on the economic, social and military life of the Romanians inhabiting the land between the Danube and the Carpathians. As for Kumania, mentioned by the Diploma, it was a mere political notion to justify the rights of the Hungarian Crown over the places which had been owned by the Kumans. As it is well-known, at the moment when the Tartars conquered the Russian principalities (1237—1239), the Kumans, who had settled in the plain zone from the Olt river down to the steppes lying at the North-West of the Black Sea, asked the King of Hungary to allow them to settle in the Pannonian Plain, between the Tisa and the Danube.

Arhivum Vaticanum, Regestum Vaticanum, vol. 22, pp. 75—76 verso, epistola 533. Latin original.

18

Anonymus geographer, *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, On the Romanians.

Worth of note would be that between Macedonia, Achaia and Thessalonika, there is a certain people, very great in size, and largely spread, which are called the Blazi, and who, once upon a time, were the Roman's shepherds, and who, owing to the fruitful, full of verdure soil, used to live in Hungary as well, on the Romans' grazing fields. But, in the long last, having been driven away by the Hungarians, they took refuge to these parts, and they

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boast of plenty of excellent cheese, milk and meat, much more than other nations have got. The land of those Blachi, which is big and rich, was almost completely occupied by Prince Charles' army, stationed in Greece, and, therefore, it made for the Thessalonian kingdom and now, is conquering, by water or by land, the citadel called Thessalonika, together with the surrounding region.

A Franciscan or Dominican friar, advisor of Charles of Valois, the brother of Philippe IV, the King of France, wrote, in 1308, a Treatise of Geography on Eastern Europe. The Romanians are mentioned as a people in this treatise. Worth mentioning would be that the anonymous geographer tried to provide an explanation for their origin and for their great number, as well as for their dissemination and presence in age-old and stable settlements in the Balkan Peninsula, from Thessalonika to Pannonia.

Anonymi Geographi, *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*. The original is lost. A copy made in 1308 is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, fonds Croisades, mss. nr. 5515.

19

Chronicon pictum Vindobonense, on the battles between the troops of the King of Hungary and the Romanian army, led by Basarab, in the year 1330.

In the same year, when the unworthy of recollection Felicianus died, that is in the year of Our Lord 1330, the King gatehered a big army — but not all his armed forces, as he had sent soldiers to the coutnry's borders on various expeditions, against his numerous enemies — and on the urge of the Transylvanian Voivode Thoma and of Dionisie, son of Nicolae and grandson of Ivanca, he went in person, in the month of September, via Severin, to the country of the Vlahi's Voivode, Bazard, a country which cannot be inhabited by any people unaccustomed to its peculiarities, to drive this Bazarad away from that country, or at least, to give the country to one of his courtiers, although the Voivode had always faithfully paid the toll due to His Majesty the King.

When the king took the Zeurin (Severin) and its fortress, he gave them all to the said Dionisie together with the high rank of Ban. After all this has been done, Bazarad sent the King a most honourable deputation to tell him: „As Your Majesty, my King and Lord, have taken the pains to gather the army, I shall reward you for your efforts with 7,000 silver marks, and shall let Zeuerin, and all its belongings, in peace, which you are now powerfully holding, in your own hands. Moreover, I shall annually pay faithfully you the due tribute. And, even more, I shall have one of my sons sent to your Court, to serve you, on my money and expenses, provided you should go peacefully back and avoid the dangers which you may encounter, for, if you still advance more in my country, you are exposing yourself to dangers which you can by no means avoid". On hearing this, giving way to his arrogant mind, he burst out with the following words: "You should tell

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Bazarad that he is the shepherd of my sheep and I shall draw him by his beard out of all his hiding places".

Then, a faithful baron, called Danciu, Count of Zolyom and of Lipton, told the King the following words: "My Lord, this Bazarad is addressing himself to you in great humbleness and to your honour; and therefore, you should write to him a letter and bestow upon him the favour of Your Royal grace and show him all your love and mercy."

Then, the King repeated his above-mentioned arrogant and menacing words, and overlooking any sound advice, he proceeded on his way, decided to fight the battle. And, the King and his men, unable as they were to find food in an unknown country, among the mountains and wooden hills, they came soon to be afflicted with hunger, all together, the King, the men and the horses. Therefore, he ordered a reconciliation with Bazarad, who plighted his troth of honour that he would be obedient to the King and offer him and all his men the possibility to go home safe and sound and that he would show them a direct way home; and, so the King, turned back safely confident in the perfidious faith of the non-conformist.

The King reached some way with all his army, but this way was sinuous and shut up at both ends by deep precipices, all around them, and where this road was somewhat larger, the Vlahi had strengthened and surrounded it with bee gardens. And the King and his men were caught unawares by the great multitude of Vlahi who came in a rush, there high up, on the brink of the precipices and crowded in from everywhere and threw their arrows to the King's army, who were gathered at the foot of a deep valley, which could not even be called a way, but rather a sort of narrow ship, where owing to the squash even the most nimble men and horses fell in battle. For, due to the steep precipices, they could not climb any slope and go against the Vlahi on any side of the way, and neither could they advance or run away, as the way was blocked with beehives, and so the King's soldiers were all caught like fish in a bow or trap net.

And all fell one after another, be they young or old, princes and noblemen, with no distinction whatsoever. And this sad event lasted from the sixth day of the week to the second day of the following week, during which fine soldiers bumped into one another, rocked like babies in their cradles or bent back and forth like willows in the teeth of the wind. And the disaster was terrible, as numberless soldiers, princes and noblemen fell in battle, from the sixth day, on the eve of Martinmas, and it went on so until the following day.

And three praeposituses were killed, namely magister Andrew, the praepositus of the Church of Alba, a most venerable man, the Vice-chancellor of His Royal Majesty, who was killed and so the Seal of His Majesty was also lost. Then, came Mihail, the praepositus of Pozsega and Nicolae, the praepositus of the Transylvanian Alba. Similarly, there fell Andrew, the plebeian of Sarus and Petru, friar of the Medicant Order, an honourable man, who drank his cup of sorrows and met a terrible death for they had wooden nails stuck into his brain. And even some priests, the King's chaplains were killed there. And finally, inumerable Kumans also fell there.

All the corpses, of both churchmen and lay noblemen, are still waiting for the last judgement to come and for resurrection, lying there, on the battlefield. And, owing to the invading enemies, not even their close relatives had

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been able to find and bury them. And the Vlahi took numerous prisoners, both wounded and unwounded, and captured a lot of weapons and fine clothes belonging to the dead, and gold and silver coins and precious vases and sword belts and bags full of groschen and many saddled horses, which they carried away and handed over to Bazarad.

And the King exchanged his insignia, and clothes with Desev, the son of Dionisie, who was savagely slain to death by the Vlahi, who mistook him for the King himself. And the King took a narrow escape with a couple of his men. As they stood close to the King and protected him like stone walls, magister Danciu and his son Ladislau, and other soldiers who were in the King's personal service, as well as magister Martin and his son Berend, who received all the arrows and sword cuts, provided they could save the King's life and avoid for him the fatal blow.

But all around the army, from each and every part there also fell soldiers from the multitude of the currish Vlahi like flies which have lost the sweetness of oil, when they mercilessly killed the Christian people and their priests the ministers of Jesus Christ.

The number of the Vlahi killed there by the Hungarians could be reckoned only by the skilled judge of the Hell. The King went to Vishegrad, after this event. To make this long story short, although the Hungarians had waged very great and fierce wars before this time, it also happened to them to be defeated, to take good care not to swell like turkey-cocks on account of their numerous victories, or at least to be punished for their former arrogance, so that they should also know what humiliation actually is and understand that they become worthier of God's merciful grace the more they suffer the moralizing whips of God Almighty. As the Lord punishes them whom He loveth (*Nam Deus Pater illos corrigit quos diligit*).

Written by a Hungarian prebendary in the 14th century, *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*, concludes with the narration of the disastrous campaign organized by the King of Hungary, Charles Robert of Anjou, against the Romanian Country of Wallachia, in 1330. The victory of the Romanians in battlefield sanctioned the independence of the Romanian feudal state, lying between the Carpathians and the Danube.

Historiae Hungaricae Fontes domestici, Pars prima. Scriptores. vol. II, Recensuit M. Florianus. Buda. Quinque Eclesiis, 1883, pp. 242—245. Latin original.

20

1335, December 13. Privilege granted by Charles Robert of Anjou to Nicolae, son of Radoslav

Losing, with the passage of time, any confidence in that confounded Bozorad [17], the Voivode of the Wallachians, a firebrand and a well-known rival of ours, one who has trespassed upon our country and overstepped the boundaries of the kingdom, and after having taken a well-thought and blessed

[17] i.e. Basarab

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counsel with all our high clergymen, the barons and all the front-ranking men in our kingdom, we gathered a strong army and went to his country beyond the mountains, a land unknown to our peoples, to conquer it and submit it to our Royal Highness. We marched on without fighting, among the grottoes in the mountains and hills, and after a couple of days, we started to suffer from shortage of food for both men and horses. Then, we concluded with the said Basarab a truce, who had perfidiously declared upon his word of honour that he would submit himself to our power and show us a sure way to go back home with our army. We trusted the word of the non-conformist, which had not been uttered in good faith; it was mere cheat at good faith. And, as we were on our way home with our men, may that road by accursed forever, closed as it was at both ends by staggering precipices, and, in front of us, where it got larger, it was strengthened with bee-stocks, crowded with Basarab's armed men, we were taken unawares, by a fierce attack launched against ourselves and against our army with great fury and in different ways, hit with stones, stingshots and other dazzling blows of savage hits. They put our squadron to the swords, dipping their arrows and spears into the blood of our dead men. We were under a shower of blows and shots, and crammed as if pushed by a moving wall. And by no way could we find an escape, either by running back or forward; we were tossing about like fish in a bow net, calling to the Maker of all things, to Our Saviour : Oh, Lord, bestow your grace upon our deep sighs. Then, with the help of God Almighty and of Jesus Christ who was crucified for us and for his Saint Mother and for all the Saints, some soldiers who were by me formed a shelter of shields upon my head and kept me safe of the pouring arrows and spears, and of other blows, and so could we avoid the deadly danger that was coming nearer and nearer. Then, our faithful Nicolae (Radoslav), a young athlete, valiant as a recruit and nimblewitted, kept his eyes on me, and furious like a lion, strained every nerve and the power of his soldier's arm, and tore away and threw off all his iron armour and, so, undressed, keeping only his shield, he launched himself in battle again, brandishing his pointed spear against the line of enemies who had invaded upon us, and struggled with them like a man. He did not think of protecting his own head, it was our head that he had in mind, above which there wielded the broadswords of five Wallachian soldiers who were eager to cut first and foremost our Royal head off. And quick as lightning he killed them all, like a bat out of hell, and slayed them down to the earth, breathless and stone dead. There, the valiant soldier Nicolae himself got six wounds bad enough, in his head and shoulders, and he left some five and twenty noblemen of his own on the battlefield. And so, with the help of God could the enemy's ardour be assuaged and the right flank of their wall split to let us run through that breach away from the battle which came upon us unawares — with the will of God the Almighty, who is the Maker of all things — compelled as we were to take to fight and escape, followed by our enemies, and only so could we be free to find our way back home. (Issued on the 13th Day of December, 1335))

In this document granted to soldier Nicolae, to assert his valour in battle, Charles Robert of Anjou confirms the description made by the

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author of the "Painted Chronicle of Vienna", of the events occurred during the battles of 1330 at Posada.

Magyar országos Levéltár, Budapest, Blagay család okleveltára. p. 110 and the foll. Latin original.

21

1395, March 7. Treaty concluded between Sigismund of Luxemburg King of Hungary and Mircea cel Bătrîn, Prince of Wallachia.

We, Mircea, Voivode of Wallachia, Duke of Făgăraş and Ban of Severin, let know all those who will read the present letter or will find out about its contents in some other way, that, as the illustrious Prince and Ruler, Sigismund, by the will of God Almighty, the glorious King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., Margrave of Brandenburg, etc., has bestowed upon us the overwhelming kindness of his Majesty since he [once] got acquainted with us and let us know his useful and friendly assistance, and gave us, upon his own will and with all his grace, his full love and extended his help to us, particularly against those terrible and sly sons of lies, foes of the name of Christ, and irreconcilable enemies of ours — the Turks — and showing us always and in all circumstances his kind goodwill, therefore, on our own urge, without being obliged by anybody, and upon our oath of faith and that of our noblemen, duly taken in advance, we have sworn and still swear to His Majesty the King, by the present letter, to defend and keep to the letter to the following.

Hence, first and foremost, any time, from now on, when our lord, the King, is going himself with his army against the mentioned Turks or against any others who would be on their side we shall be in duty bound to join him too, with all our army, with all our men and strength. And, would our lord, the King not go, but would he send his army alone, we shall be in duty bound to send our army and men to go together with the King's army, against the said enemies. At the same time if the King himself goes there with his army and the men he would bring along [in war] and if he sends his army and his men alone, as written above, against the said enemies, [we shall be in duty bound] to assure them free, peaceful and safe passage through the Dobrujan land, or through any other parts, citadels, provinces, passes, banks, or other places under our authority and rule and give them as much food as they would like to buy with their money, as long as they stay there, while they withdraw from there, and on their way home.

Moreover, when and as often it happens that our lord, the King, goes to those places with army and his men, and with our aid, he would take, subdue, recapture or get hold in some way or another: cities, lands, strongholds, passes, riverbanks, provinces or any other places, and therefore, he will be obliged to stay longer there himself, then we, with our army, men and all our strength shall be in duty bound to stay longer along with the

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King, as long and in the same way as he will do it himself [there]. And, if the King sends his army alone, then we shall be kept in duty bound to send our army and men alongside the King's army, sufficient in point of number and strength, able to rebuke the enemy and the power of the inimical part, and to keep and defend against the latter [those places] which the King with the help of God, would be able to take hold of, to conquer or have, as mentioned above, in those parts, by all means. And finally, as often as it will be necessary, for instance when the strength of the enemy or of the hostile part would be of [great] magnitude, then, we, as shown above, shall help the men of the king with our army, shall lend them support and aid in preserving and defending against whoever might be, in the name of the king, [the places] he would take hold on, he would conquer, gain or have, as mentioned above.

At the same time, we shall be in duty bound to convey, from our own property, to the above-mentioned King, to his army and men, brought along or sent by him, as already said, to those parts, as much food as they would buy with their money, always and in sufficient quantity, as often and under any circumstance whatsoever they feel they need it, in order to help them, keep and defend, take hold of, conquer, gain the places mentioned above.

Similarly, when and as often as it happens that the said King goes himself or sends his army and his men to those places, but by a route that crosses other lands than those under our authority, as for instance beyond [the Danube] or along the Danube, through places neighbouring our country and the Danube, then, and whenever it happens, as it is said above, that they pass along the Danube, we shall be in duty bound to convey them and have food sent to them across the Danube, as much and as good as they would like to buy with their money, and see to it that their food reaches them by all means.

Moreover, if it is the will of God Almighty, the Maker of all things, that somebody from the King's army or from his men, falls ill, or is wounded, or has his body injured in some way or another, so that he would be obliged to stay on there, then he may do it, free, in peace and safe, as long as he likes, without any damage, loss, hindrance or annoyance whatsoever, to his own self, belongings and assets, which will be kept always untouched, while the letters, whatever they contain and however they are written and issued, exchanged up to now or to be exchanged between the said King, our lord and myself, concerning and in relation with all this shall be for better for worse, fully strengthened as witnessed by the present letter of ours.

To endorse and guarantee that the above-mentioned shall be kept to the letter by us, as shown beforehand, we have given this letter to the said King, the present [letter] sealed with our Small Seal, in default of the greater one, and promising him to give him a similar copy and having the same content [strengthened] with the Great Seal attached to it.

Issued in Braşov, on Reminiscence Sunday (March the 7th, in the year of Our Lord 1395).

In 1393, the Turks succeed in conquering Bulgaria and reach as far as the Danube. The following year, Sultan Bayazid Yildirim organized a campaign against Wallachia, but Mircea cel Bătrîn (Mircea the Old) beat

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him off and forced the Turks to withdraw south of the Danube. In 1395, Sigismund of Luxemburg, who planned to organize an Anti-Ottoman Crusade, concludes a treaty of alliance with the Wallachian Prince, stipulating terms of collaboration between the two princes in case of an armed conflict with the Turks. In 1396, at Nicopolis, the Christian army is defeated by the Turks and Wallachia has to get through a new Turkish attack in 1397.

Fr. Zimmermann, C. Werner, Fr. Müller, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. II, Sibiu, 1897, pp. 125—137. Latin original.

22

Johannes III, Archbishop of Sultanyeh, *Libellus de Notitia Orbis*, shows the origins of the Romanians north and south of the Danube and the Latin character of their language.

Beyond [Serbia], westward, is Vulgaria or Bulgaria, and it used to be a rich country, but it has been laid waste by the Turks. They speak their own language, almost Latin, and as they say, they are the descendants of the Romans, for, when a Roman Emperor had conquered those countries — that is Macedonia — some Roman groups, realizing how bountiful that country was, married and settled themselves there. For that reason, they are called Vulgarians from the Vulgar Roman language. Accordingly, they are proud of being Romans, and this can be seen in their language, as they speak like the Romans, and even in religious matters they seem to follow the Latins and not the Greek, in spite of having the Greek as their neighbours, and they readily adhere to our faith, as we have already seen.

Farther away, beyond them, by the Great or Pontic Sea is Wallachia, a big country, indeed. It has its own Prince, and although the Turk has captured a lot of them and turned them into his tributaries, he never succeeded in gaining dominion over that country as he did with others. Wallachia is called: Greater and Lesser. And through this country, flows the Danube, the greatest river on earth which comes down from Germany [and crosses] Hungary, then Wallachia to flow into the Great Sea near Licostom, which means "The Wolf's Mouth", as this river forms a lot of islands and [several] mouths when it flows into the sea. They have no big cities but many villages and [a lot of] animals. The soil [is] rich, there are a few vineyards, and very many rivers and [vast] plains.

Generally they are the followers of the Greek in their faith, though we have also many abodes of the Predicant and Minority Order and a lot of Germans are inhabiting those places.

Their prince was converted to our faith, and particularly his mother, Lady Margareta, by a preaching monk who was General Vicar in those places.

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This country borders to the East on the Great Sea, to the South on Constantinople, to the West on Albania, and to the North with Russia or Lithuania.

Starting with the 15th century, the Europeans show an increasing interest in the Romanians, the only people who had been able, by heroical struggles and heavy sacrifies, to check the Ottoman expansion. Besides the thirst of knowledge, specific to the Renaissance man, the European society, menaced by the offensive and presence of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans, looked for allies and means of common defence or of restraining the Ottomans from advancing to the centre of the continent. The data left for us by Archbishop John of Sultanyeh, a well-known champion of the Anti-Ottoman struggle, on the Romanians north and south of the Danube are the natural outcome of the fact that the Romanian world in that zone was actually very strong in the 15th century.

A. Kern, *Der "Libellus de Notitia Orbis"*, Johannes III (de Galonifontibus) O. P. Erzbischofs von Sultanyeh, in "Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum", VIII, 1938, p. 82. Latin original.

23

1455, October 5. *Saruhanbeyli*. Letter written by Sultan Mehmed II, confirming to the Prince of Moldavia the conclusion of peace in exchange of payment of an annual tribute.

[Tugra]

From the Great Prince and High Emir, Sultan Mehmed Beg, to the noble and wise and most honorable and praiseworthy Voivode Ioan Petru, Prince of Morovlahia, loving greetings we beg your nobility to accept.

You have sent this envoy and nobleman of yours, Logothete Mihul, and, through him, your own words. Accordingly if you pay a yearly tribute of 2,000 Venetian gold ducats, to my Lordship, peace shall be concluded. And our term for this is three months from now-on. If it reaches me within this term, peace shall be concluded with my lordship. Otherwise, you know it better. God bless you.

Sarhan Beglie

Month of October the 5th.

After the conquest of Constantinople, in 1453, Sultan Mehmed II inaugurated the policy of instituting an Ottoman monopoly on the Black Sea. In the summer of 1454 the Ottoman fleet made demonstrations of force and conquered Sevastopol and menaced Caffa and Cetatea Albă. The Genoese of Caffa were compelled to pay tribute, and Moldavia also started negotiations with the Sultan to try and buy peace. The two Turkish documents (Nos 23 and 24) are the crucial moments of the negotiations between Moldavia and the Ottoman Porte, i.e. when the first accepted to pay tribute during the rule of Voivode Petru Aron and the latter granted privileges to the Romanian merchants of Cetatea Albă.

Archivum Główne akt Dawnych — Warszawa, Archivum Koronne, dziak Turecki, Teczka 1, No 1. Slavonic original.

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24

1456, June 9 (860 Rajab 5) Yeni Derbend. Firman issued by Sultan Mehmed II concerning the observance of the privileges granted to Romanian merchants.

[Tugra]

The order given under imperial sign is that, in the situation obtaining by now, after concluding the peace with the Bey of the country of Moldavia, Voivode Petru, most distinguished among the honoured heads, we have done away with all enmity between us, and ordered that all merchants that might be on his soil, at Akkerman, would be allowed to come with their ships and deal in trade with the inhabitants of Edirne (Adrianopole) and Brusa and Istanbul. On their arrival and departure, no bey, subashee, spahee, or any of my servants should never cause them trouble or damages and spoil their goods. Otherwise, would they not observe my order, and cause them a trouble or loss in a way or another, and if I hear of such deed, then I shall send my men and great misfortune will fall upon them.

The present order is brought to their knowledge and the firman being true as it is, they shall trustworthy observe it.

Issued on the 5th day of the unique Rajab, in the year eight hundred and sixty. At the Yeni-Derbend Camp.

Archiwum Glówne akt Dawnych — Warszawa, Archiwum Koronne, dziak Turecki, Teczka 2, No. 3. Turkish original.

25

1475, January 25. Letter addressed by Ştefan cel Mare to the European sovereigns, asking them to give armed support to the Romanians' anti-Ottoman struggle.

To the Hungarian Crown, and to all countries, where this letter will be read, we wish you good health. I, Stefan Voivode, by the will of God, Prince of the Country of Moldavia, friendly bow in salutation to express my friendly feelings for all of you to whom I write, and wish you all good and tell your highnesses, that the unfaithful Emperor of the Turks has been for long and still is the destroyer of Christiandom, and everyday he thinks of how he could better submit and ruin all Christianity. Therefore, we let Your Highness know that by the last Saint Day of Epiphany the above-mentioned Turk sent to and against our country a great army, 20,000-strong, whose highest chieftain was Suleiman Pasha, the High Bey ; he was accompanied by all the countries of the above-mentioned Turk and all the peoples

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of Romania, and the Prince of the Wallachian Country, with all his armed forces and Assan-bey and Ali-bey and Schender-bey and Grana-bey and Valtival-bey and Serefaga-bey, the prince of Sofia and Cusenra-bey and Piri-bey, son of Isac-Pasha, with all his janissaries. All those listed above were the highest captains in their armies.

Hearing and seeing all this, we took our sword, and with the help of God Almighty we went against the foes of Christiandom, and defeated them and trampled them all under our feet and stabbed them down with our sword ; and God be praised for all this ! On hearing of this, the pagan Emperor of the Turks made up his mind to take revenge and come himself in the month of May with all his forces against us to submit our country, which is the Gate of Christiandom and which God has saved until now. But if this Gate [of Christiandom] which is our country, is lost God avert us then, all Christiandom will be in great danger. Therefore, we pray Your Highness, to send your captains to help us against the foes of Christianity, until it is still time, for the Turk has a lot of enemies and they give him a deal of trouble with their sword in very many places. As for us, we take pledge, on our Christian faith and swear the oath of faith of our highness to be ready and fight until our last breath for the Saint Christian faith, with our own head. And you must do that yourselves, by sea or by land, after we have with the help of God-Almighty cut his right hand off. So, be ready, and take no delay. Issued in Suceava, on St. Paul's Day, on the 25th Day of January, in the year of Our Lord 1475.

Ştefan Voïvode
Prince of Moldavia

Among the efforts made by the Romanians in the 15th century in defence of the freedom and independence by checking the Ottoman offensive at the Danube line, there are also the successful wars waged by the Romanian Prince Ştefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great 1457—1504). The victory of January 10, 1475, one of the most brilliant successes scored by the Christians against the Crescent, according to Jan Dlugosz, the Polish chronicler, and a contemporary of those events, met a resounding echo in the hearts of the peoples, desirous to preserve their national entity. Stephen the Great, soon after that victory, aware as he was that the Ottoman Empire had to wage battles on several fronts with the peoples who resisted the invaders, addressed himself to the European sovereigns and asked them for help as he was convinced that the Sultan, had enough forces not give up his expansionist plans on the continent and not to leave unpaid the degrading defeat of January 10, 1457. Three copies in Italian have been preserved : two at Ambrosian Library in Milan and one at the San Marco Library of Venice.

Magyar diplomácziai emlékek Mátyás Király korából 1458—1590. Vol. II, Budapest, A. M. tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadó-Hivatalában, 1877, pp. 301—302 (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Acta extera, vol. V.). Italian copy.

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26

1474, May 8. Address by Ion Ţamblac, envoy of Ştefan cel Mare to the Senate and the Doge of Venice, requesting anti-Ottoman support.

Address by Mr. Ion Ţamblac, illustrious envoy of Prince Stephen, Voivode of Moldavia, translated into Latin from the Greek, *ad literam*, as follows :

Your Highness, these are the facts which I, Ioan Ţamblac, envoy and uncle of Voivode Ştefan, disclose here loudly, on his behalf.

Your Highness must have heard from many people, of all the evils the Turks have done in his country. But it is also true that much of what followed could not have happened at all if he knew that this Christian and neighbouring princes would behave as they did. For, in spite of all pledges and agreements he had with them, they betrayed him, and so he got into that trouble. All arrangements and pledges stipulated that all should be ready and help anywhere a prince who would have been attacked by the Turk. Nevertheless, with all the reliance placed in them, the above-mentioned misfortune befell to me. For, if it had not been so, I would have chosen one possibility, I would have either really opposed the enemy at the pass and would not let him go on, or, if I had not been able to do so, I would have tried to rescue the people of my country and cut the losses down. But, they have left me alone, and it happened to me what it happened. And, were the enemy alone, it would not have been so bad ; but he ordered the other Romanian land, on the one hand, and the Tartars on the other, to come along, and the Turk himself came with all his strength and surrounded me from three parts and found me there alone, with all my men scattered, to defend their homes. And Your Highness can imagine how overwhelming they were in number, when they came with such great forces against me, left there alone as I was. I, and my court, did our best, and it happened as I told you before, but I think it was God's will to punish me for my sins ; blessed be the name of God.

And when the enemy went really away, I found myself devoid of any Christian help ; for not only that the Christians did not help me, but there were some who even rejoiced in the loss caused by the heathen to me and my country.

In the meantime, the secretary of Your Highness came over to me and told me what he was ordered and promised me a lot in the name of Your Christian Highness, who, of your own will, means to the Christians well and to the enemy ill. This filled me with joy and entertained my hopes ; and I felt better when he told me that I should be assigned a portion of the money sent to Hungary and share some other sums as well to my assistance and good usage. And, nevertheless, I have requested Voivode Basarab to be banished from the other Romanian Land, and have another Christian Prince installed there, namely Drăculea, with whom I can get along well. I have even persuaded, His Highness, the Hungarian Prince to see to it that Drăculea the Wallachian [the Romanian] should ascend to the throne. And, yielding finally in,

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he had sent me a message to gather my army and go and enthrone the named voivode in Walllachia. And so I did, and set off, I from one side and the captain of the HHungarian Prince from the other, and joined our forces and exalted to the tthrone the said Drăculea. And when I accomplished this, he asked me to leawe for his protection some of our men, as he did not trust the Wallachians verry much ; and I left him 200 of my courtiers. And, then, I left. But, immediatelly, the unfaithful Basarab came back, found him alone and killed him, and together with him were killed all my men, but ten.

And findiing all this out, and as the secretary of Your Highness was also present andl could hear what had happened he asked me if I could not let him go, as it was high time for him to fulfil what he had told me on your behalf. I adviseed him not to leave, as it was a hard winter, as this happened about the 10th of January. And I told him that he might write and fulfil his duty by a letter. He answered me that "I shall do this myself, I cannot do it by letter". And he asked me to give him a man to accompany him, and enjoy his companiionship on the way back too ; and he decided, together with me, to return on Easter Day. And when I saw his care and eagerness, I let him go and gawe him a man ; and I remained with his words as an accomplished deed.

Other of my neighbouring Christian Princes, I was not willing to try anymore, lest It would be betrayed again. Your Highness is well aware of their mutual agreements. Therefore, they can hardly take care of their own affairs ; and my own affairs are, willy-nilly, left helpless. I even assume that the Hungarian Prince is going to make peace with Wallachia which is for the worst. Therefore I place my hopes and look for shelter with you, Your Highness, whom I ask to be so kind and help me.

I would not tell you again how useful my country is to the Christian affairs ; I think it is superfluous to emphasize it, as it is as clear as daylight that my country is a defence citadel for Hungary and Poland and the watchman of these two kingdoms. Besides, as the Turks came upon me, many Christians have lived in peace and quiet for four years. So, as Christian sovereigns as you are, and as you are known, I come to Your Highness and ask your Christian assistance in preserving this country of mine, useful for Christian matters, and I promise I shall return you any help or present of yours, multiplied by ten, as often you shall need it and ask — but only against the heathens — wherever you shall deem fit and order me to do so, and I shall do it without taking any delay. Besides, Your Highness will do a most honourable deed by sending a help to a Christian prince. This is all what I ask of you now, for I am positively sure that the Turk is going to come against me again next summer for the two counties, that of Chilia and Cetatea Albă, which are most troublesome to them. Therefore I wish to be assisted in this task, as there is little time left and you cannot make broader preparations. Your Highness should take into account that these two countries are one with Moldavia and Moldavia together with these counties form a wall in defence of Hungary and Poland. Moreover, I dare say, if these two citadels can be preserved, the Turks might lose even Caffa and Cherson. And this would be easy enough, but I would not tell you how this might be achieved, to cut this long letter short. But, if you are willing to know it, I shall explain it to you.

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Thus, these are the facts he ordered me to let you know, and, now there is something else, I have some letters and words to disclose to His Sanctity. If Your Highness would think it proper, I shall go, but if you think otherwise, I shall not.

He places all his hopes in Your Highness and asks Yourself and other Christians for help. And, if it is God's will and I shall be not helped, one thing of two might happen : either will this country be destroyed, or shall I be compelled, willy-nilly to yield in to the heathens. But thee latter I shall never do, for I shall rather die one hundered thousand times than do such a thing. And I rest all my hopes with Your Highness.

Although Mehmed II would have liked to organize a campaign against Moldavia in the summer of 1475, he had to postpone it for 1457, owing to his poor health condition. The Sultan wished to conquer this Romanian land and turn it into a Turkish pashalik. The heroic resistance put up by Ştefan cel Mare annihilated such projects. Though, on July 26, Stephen the Great lost the battle of Războieni, but hae forced Mehmed II to withdraw from Moldavia, and more than that, on the insistance of the Romanian Prince Matei Corvin (Mathias Corvinus) backed Vlad Ţepeş (Vlad the Impaler, or Dracula) to regairn his throne in Wallachia. In his address to the Venetian Senate Stephen the Great's envoy, makes a brief account of these facts, emphasizing the strategic importance of Moldavia for all her northwestern neighbours and even for the countries lying on the northern shores of the Black Sea, as the Romanian Prince was well aware of all the means and ways to defeat the Turks.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Deliberazioni secrete del Senato, Reg. 28, No. 133. Latin original.

27

1501. Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Cosmography*, Furnishes daata on the origins of the Romanian people.

The region of Transylvania lies beyond the Danube. It had been once inhabited by the Dacians, courageous people, reputed for the numerous defeats of the Romans ; nowadays, it is inhabited by three peoples : the Saxons, the Szecklers and the Romanians. The Saxons had come from Saxony, and are strong men, used to the struggle. They are called after the seven citadels [cities] inhabited by them : "Siebenbürger" in their own language.. The Szecklers are considered the most ancient Hungarians, the first of all who had come from Old Hungary to this country. Thus, although they till their land with their own hands, as they live at the countryside and they herd their sheep, they are, nevertheless, called noblemen ; when they gather, they greet one another with "My noble man..." and they pay taxes only during the year when a king of Hungary is crowned. Then, the king is given a number of

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oxen equal to the number of the heads of family, and, they say that their number would be well-nigh or even more than 60 thousand. And when they are ordered to go on war, if they do not comply with the order, they are inflicted the capital punishment and their goods seized by way of penalty. The Romanians are of Italian stock, as we shall show below, but there are rather few experienced men among the Transylvanians not to speak Hungarian, etc...

... Ioan de Hunedoara, whose glory makes all other reputation vanish, did not increase so much the Hungarians' glory, as he did for the Romanians among whom he was born.

Wallachia is a vast region, stretching from the [boundaries] of Transylvania to the Black Sea, in smooth plains almost all over and devoid of water courses.

The Danube flows at the south and the Russians, which our contemporaries call Ruthenians, live at the North, while towards the Dniester there are the nomadic peoples of the Scythians, which we call Tartars today.

This land was once upon a time inhabited by the Getae, who had put Darius, the son of Histaspe, to flight and who caused numerous defeats to Thracia. They have been subsequently subdued and crushed by the Roman forces. And a colony of Romans was settled there to keep a tight rein over Dacians under the leadership of a certain Flaccus, after whose name the country was called Flacohia. Then, after a long spell of time, its name was altered as it happens into Valahia and its inhabitants were called Valahs instead of Flacci. This people speaks now a Roman idiom, although partly changed, and hardly understood by an Italian.

Poggio Bracciolini (1380—1459) and Flavio Biondo (1388—1463) are the first humanists to speak in their works of the Roman origins of the Romanian people, emphasizing the Latin character of the Romanian language. Pope Pius II — Enea Silvio Piccolomini — in his work *Historia rerum ubique gestarum locumque descriptio*, better known as the *Cosmography*, explains the origins of the Romanian people and wrongly traces the ethymology of the word *Valachus*, which he derives from the name of the Roman General Flaccus, a fictitious character, who had allegedlly conquered Dacia. Printed in 1501, the *Cosmography* was used by the 16th century humanists who have taken oven or corrected the ethymology.

Aenea Sylvii Picolominei postea Pii II Papae, *Opera Geographica et Historica* (Helmstadii MDCIC), pp. 226—229. Latin original.

28

1532. Francesco della Valle, Notes on the Origins, Habits and Towns of the Romanians.

Tîrgoviște is not a very great town, placed in the middle of a plain, and surrounded by walls. The castle in that [town], where the Prince is living, is surrounded by thich oak poles. The inhabitants live after Ortho-

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dox laws and are dressed in long clothes, wearing fur caps on their heads like the Croatians. The language does not differ very much from the Italian ; they call themeslves in their language Romanians, for they say, that they had come from old Rome to settle in this country and when somebody asks one if he can speak their Wallachian language they say like this : "Do you speak Romanian, that is, can you speak the Romanian language, as their language has been spoiled. For they are barbarian and rough as their habits are concerned. A church of St. Francis was erected in this town [with] a couple of Observant Monks, who serve God according to the Roman Church rituals. This country is very rich, and boasts of everything except wine, instead of which people used to drink beer. On the hill in front of the city, there is a monastery, or rather a very great abacy, inhabited by some Greek monks, who offered us many good hospitality and told us the whole story of the settlement of the inhabitants in this country, which goes as follows : They say that Emperor Trajan, defeating and conquering this country, had divided it among his soldiers and turned it into a Roman colony, so that these people being the descendants of the old [colonists] preserved their name of Romans. But, as centuries went on, they altered so much their name, as well as their customs and language, that hardly can one understand them, and therefore do they call themselves Romanians today. This is all what I could find out from those monks. My master, made a halt here for a couple of days, and then, made up his mind to go to the country of Voivode Petru, the Prince of Moldavia or Upper Wallachia, as you would like to call it. This country is bordering on the Tartars, the Poles and Walachia, already mentioned before. He made this trip to negotiate with this Voivode Petru. After a two-days journey, he was told by his guard, who rode always in advance to keep the way safe, not to go further away, for that Petru had prepared a trap for him [waiting] with 15,000 horsemen who were going to cut us all to pieces. Finding this out, and making sure that the news was true, he decided upon going back, and so, we rode for one night and one day, to return to Tîrgoviște. The Prince of that city, also informed by my master's envoys, met him with a strong cavalry, but as we were not followed by enemies, we did not need his help. Thus, as Petru, the Voivode of Moldavia did not succeed in carrying out his plans, according to his wicked heart's desire, pretended to be astonished by my master's return in such great haste and sent him his envoys to Tîrgoviște with a lot of gifts to buy his benevolance, and showing himself ready to give him assistance with [all] his armed forces.

As it was only but natural, the Romanians were well aware of their origins, and this is clearly stated by the Paduan Francesco della Valle in his narrative. As secretary of Aloisio Gritti, a natural son to Doge Andrea Gritti, Francesco della Valle accompanies his masters, in 1532, on a voyage he makes to Wallachia and Transylvania in order to obtain the collaboration of the Romanian Princes for the Suleiman the Magnificent's projected campaign against Vienna. After a stop at Tîrgoviște, where he finds out from the monks in the Dealu Monastery some data on the origins of the Romanians, Gritti tries to go over to Moldavia, to negotiate with Petru Rareș. The Moldavian Prince, determined to preserve his country's independence and realizing that a successful cam-

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paign of the Ottoman Emperor would jeopardize his plans, tries to thwart Gritti's mission. As a matter of fact, in 1534, he will contribute to the arrest and killing of Gritti, when solutions to settlement of the frontiers question pending between the Ottoman and the Hapsburg Empire were explored so that the Sultan, sure of the situation in Europe, might set out with all his forces against the Shah of Persia. By thwarting Gritti's mission, Petru Rareş tried to form a Christian alliance which should launch the offensive against the Ottoman Empire, under the favourable circumstances offered by the Ottoman-Persian conflict.

Magyar Történelmi Tár, III, 1857, pp. 21—52, Latin. original.

29

1541. Georg Reicherstorffer, *Moldavia's Chorography.* A fragment containing data on the location of the country, the origins and the habits of the Romanians.

... Setting out, first from the boundaries of Poland, for, it is from that quite large country that the road to Moldavia starts, the land is flat and very rich in all what is necessary for life and food, being not crossed by hills or mountains as far as one reaches the Moldavian border, by crossing Russia, a waste land I should say until the city of Lwow, the renowned capital of that Russia, located at a distance of fifty miles from Cracow. Therefrom, and not very far away, there are two rivers, almost equally large both navigable and very deep, which flow forming deep bents all around this country, that is the Dniester, called Boristhenes, and the river Moldova, which gave its name to the country from very beginning. There, at a crossing on the Dniester, there is the citadel of Hotin, and [by crossing] that river one enters the soil of Moldavia, while the [Dniester] continues its way and flows into the Black Sea in the close neighbourhood of a very strong citadel called Cetatea Albă. Finally, after a short way, one reaches a burgh called Sniatin, which divides Moldavia's territory from the neighbouring Russian one. Here one can see, at first sight, Moldavia's frontier. Herefrom, the whole territory of Moldavia stretches right on along sixty-four miles up to the Monasteries of Transylvania, the last frontier of this country of Moldavia which ends there. Further away, across those mountains, and through a very difficult path, rugged and so narrow that a single carriage can hardly advance by passing through Szeckler settlements, one can reach Braşov, in the Bîrsa Land, with not so great a difficulty ; this city of Braşov is closed by the surrounding mountain [crown] and it is well-fortified with walls, and divides the neighbouring territory of Moldavia's from the very close county of Transylvania, by the above-mentioned mountains, across which Transylvania can be reached. This county borders on Wallachia itself to the latter's northern reaches, otherwise called Transalpina and [on] Bulgaria and the Black Sea, between the great rivers Danube and Dniester.

And Wallachia is a widely open country, large indeed, in lenght and breadth, and it borders on the Turks at the Danube. It had been once sub-

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IN primis igitur exordiendo à confinibus regni Polo-
niæ dum ſcilicet ex eadem ſatis vaſta regiõe, iter verſus
Moldauiam ſpectat, plana eſt terra atq; rebus vſui, et vi-
ctui neceſſarijs accõmodatiſsima, Montibus & Alpibus
minime impedita, donec per Ruſsiam propemodũ deſer-
tam, vſq; ciuitatẽ Leopolim, Ruſsiæ Metropolim inſig-
nem, quæ quinquaginta miliaribus ab vrbe Cracouia,
diſtat, ad propiores Moldauiæ metas acceditur, Subinde
non ita procul duo ſunt flumina haud ab ſimili latitudine
& nauigabilia, & profundiſsima, quæ quidem totã hanc
regionem naturali ſuo fluxu ingentibus vndequaq; am-
biunt anfractibus, vtpote Neſter, qui Boriſthenes am-
nis dicitur, & Moldauus, a quo regnũ iſtud primæuum
nomen accipit, illic ab eius Boriſthenes fluminis portu.
Arx quędam ſita eſt, Chotĳna dicta, qui quidẽ fluuius
primo ſtatim in Moldauiam traĳcitur aditu, atq; in Mare
album prope arcẽ Neſter Fehervar munitiſsimã con-
tinuo ſuo curſu influit. Tandemq; non multo itineris in-
teruallo quoddam oppidum Snatĳna vocatum, quod vi
delicet Moldauos terminos a finitimis Ruſsię metis pro
pe ſeiungit, attingitur, Iſtic Moldauiæ limites prima frõ
te apparent. Inde recto tramite, totius regni Moldauiæ
ambitus in longitudine certo miliarium ſpatio ad calcu-
lum reuocato vſq; ad alpes Tranſſyluanos, vbi illius ter-
ræ Moldauię extrema meta eſt, ad ſexaginta & quatuor
miliaria ſatis longa protenditur, & terminatur, hinc per
prædictas alpes, & aſperam admodũ & ſaxoſam an-
guſtamq; viam, qua vix commode currus vnicus pro-
gredi poteſt, per vnum & alterum diem non multo ne-
gotio ad ciuitatẽ Braſſouienſem per Ciculiæ metas fini-

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timas in terram Bartza deflectitur. Quæ quidem ciuitas Brassouiensis circũquaq; contiguis cincta est montibus, atq; satis firmata mœnijs p̃dictis alpibus a Transsyluana regione, proxima Moldauoq; seiungens vicinos terminos, peruenitur in Transsyluaniam. Huic regioni vera Septentrionali plaga ipsa Valachia, quæ alio nomine Trãsalpina dicitur, & Bulgaria Ponto contermina sunt, inter Istrum & Thyram flumina.

VALAchia aut longe lateq; diffusa, & patens regio a ripis Danubij Thurcis finitima. Quæ olim Hungariæ regibus obnoxia fuerat, & tributaria. Nunc vero (proch dolor) simul cum Moldauia Thurcarũ Tyrannidi magna cum Christianorum iactura subiecta est.

Fuit & olim Waywoda Moldauus, Hungariæ Regibus, juramento astrictus. Eius enim Prouinciæ a quasi regno Hũgariç addicta, ingruẽtibus bellis cõtra hostes publicos, in defensionem & conseruationem illius prçsidia a Regibus Hungariæ obtinuit necessaria.

IPSA aũt Valachia Transalpini nominis originem ex re sortita alpibus cm̃ et montibus continuis, et his quidem a'tissimis ab Hungaria et eius potissima Trãssyluaniæ parte, nemorosis passim amœnisq; interuenientibus syluis diuiditur, & conterminatur.

PRAETerea Valachia appellatur a Flaccis quiritũ gẽte, Romani cm̃ Gethis superatis et deletis. Flacci cuiusdam ductu eos Coloniam traduxere, vnde primum Flaccia, deinde corrupta voce Valachia dicta, adstipulatur huic opinioni Romanus sermo, qui adhuc in ea gẽte durat, verum adeo ex omni parte corruptus, vt vix ab homine Romano intelligatur. Igitur Valachi Italicũ genus

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a veteribus (vt aiunt) Romanis deriuatum, præter quod hiſtorijs traditur, in Coloniam Dacicam à Traiano Imperatore, deductos eſſe, qui plane in Getharum mores abierunt, atq; nihil antiquæ originis, ſuiq; monimenti retinent, præter natiuam linguam quę admodum barbara & corrupta eſt.

DE RITIBVS ET MORIBVS MOLDAVIAE GENTIS.

POPVLVS itaq; Moldauicus cõformi feré veſtitu maiorũ veterũ more et inſtituto incedens, nõ diſsimilibus Hungarorum armis vtitur, vt pote haſtis militar & Clypeis, tamen illis parum ſuccinctioribus, & hi quoq; modo enſibus, ac frameis ad vſum belli deſeruientibus, non multum diſcrepantes. Quicq; ad militarem induſtriam ſatis apti ſunt & expeditiſsimi.

Præterea gens iſta Moldauica ferox eſt, & admodum barbara rebus tamen militaribus & bellicis, vt prædictũ eſt, ſuo more eximie inſtructa. Chriſtum & diuos Apoſtolos agnoſcit, ac S. Pauli, vt ipſi volunt religionem hactenus iam inde ab initio non ſine ſumma veneratione, & pietate coluit, iſtic diuerſæ ſectæ, & diuerſa quoq; religionum & nationum genera habentur, vtpote Ruthenorũ, Sarmatarum, Raſcianorum, Armeniorum, Bulgerorum & Tartharorum, nõ minor deniq; pars Saxonum Trãſſyluanorũ, hanc terrã paſſim inhabitãtes, Imperio Moldaui wayuodæ obnoxia varietate tamen ceremoniarum & dogmatum ſine contentione vtuntur, & quælibet ſecta, ſiue natio ſolitis ſuis ritibus et legibus pro ſuo fruitur libito. Eodem quoq; modo & ordine, Monachi Chriſtianam religionem illic profitentes, ſacris ſuis ceremonijs, &

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jected and tributary to the Kings of Hungary, but now, it fell, unfortunately, together with Moldavia, under Turkish yoke, to the great loss of the Christiandom.

Moldavia's Prince himself had been formerly linked under oath to the King of Hungary. And, his country, which was almost dependant upon the Kingdom of Hungary, received from the Hungarian Kings the assistance it needed in its frequent wars with the common enemy for its protection and defence. And this country derived its name of Transalpina from its having been divided from and bordering on Hungary and Transylvania, which is its most significant part, by a chain of mountains, some of the highest indeed, clad in dense and beautiful forests. And besides, it is also called Wallachia, from Flacci, a Roman kin, for the Romans, after having defeated and destroyed the Getae, brought over here colonists under the leadership of a certain Flaccus, which made this country call itself Flaccia, and then, by alteration of the word — Wallachia. This idea is supported by the fact that the Roman language is still spoken by this people. But so much altered all-through, that it could hardly be understood by a Roman. Hence, the Romanians are of Italian stock, and, according to them, they are the descendants of the old Romans, who are put down in history as having been brought by Emperor Trajan to Dacia, but who, undoubtedly, have completely adopted the Getae's habits, so that nowadays there are traces left of the age-old origins or of their past, but this mother-tongue, as primitive and altered as it is.

Thus the Moldavian people, wear clothes very much similar to those of their ancestors, whose style derives from [their] old customs and traditions, they do not use weapons differing from those of the Hungarians, that is shields and battle lances, which are somewhat shorter than [the Hungarian] ones and very much alike those swords and spears still used at war They are quite skilled in military matters and very nimble.

Then, this Moldavian people is very rough and primitive, while in soldierly or war matters they are particularly well trained, as I have shown above.

They worship Jesus Christ and the Saints Apostles, and as they maintain they have piously followed and praised from the very beginning St. Paul's teachings. This country is inhabited, in close union, under the leadership of the Voivode, by various sects and faiths and peoples, as for instance, the Ruthenians, the Poles, Serbians, Armenians, Bulgarians and, finally,a great number of Saxons from Transylvania, without fighting with one another owing to the differences of rites and dogma. And any sect or people follow the rite and law they like best. In the same way, the monks who confess their Christian faith celebrate their religious ceremonies and serve prayer in church according to the traditions and particular rules of their monastery or of the order they belong to.

. . . . . .

Mention can be made of some of the main places, that is citadels and towns of Moldavia. They would be : Suceava, Hotin, Neamț, the new city of Roman, Iași citadel, Vaslui, Soroca and Orhei, then the burgh of Huși, Trotuș, Bîrlad and the burgh of Roman and several other burghs and castles which, we would not list here and describe, for the sake of saving space.

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The Prince of this country who is called the Voivode of Moldavia, keeps for the brilliance of his court and at his own daily expense, a retinue of three thousand horsemen, always in arms, to attend on the Voivode with their troops anywhere he might go. As a matter of fact, he may, when the necessities of war would require it, summon easily and without effort, by simply calling them up to the colours, an army of up to sixty thousand cavalry and infantrymen.

Moldavia breeds a great number of wonderful Turkish and Moldavian horse, as well as fine "asturcono" and other thoroughbreds. But, on the Voivode's order, only seldom can they freely be taken out of the country and, when it happens, it is only for foreign official envoys.

After the battle of Mohács (1526), the Hungarian Crown was claimed by Ferdinand I of Hapsburg and by Ioan Zápolya, the Voivode of Transylvania. Both contenders needed the help of the princes of the Romanian countries, especially that of Petru Rareş, the Prince of Moldavia. Ferdinand I sends several deputations to Moldavia, and, in 1535, a treaty of alliance is concluded between Ferdinand I and Petru Rareş. Ferdinand was particularly interested in occupying Transylvania and in preserving Northern Hungary, but Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent opposed his plans and organized several campaigns, so that in 1529, the Ottoman armies reached the walls of Vienna. To fulfil his political plans, but, also to gain allies against the Ottomans, Ferdinand I asks his envoys to furnish data on Moldavia, on its military strength and economic resources. One of these envoys, Georg Reicherstorffer, made a description of Moldavia containing interesting data on the origins and customs of its inhabitants; worth mentioning would be the tolerance generally proved by the Romanian people, a spirit asserting itself even in the century of the bloodiest religious wars. Reicherstorffer's description, worked out after 1538, was printed for the first time at the middle of the 16th century.

The original manuscript is deposited in the Archives of the Holy See, Moldavia, No. 3522.

30

Anton Verancsics, *Description of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia.* Fragments on the location of the Romanians, their origins, language and the strategical importance of their countries.

After having included, in the first two books, the description of the expedition made by the Turkish Sultan Suleiman, in 1538, to Moldavia and Transylvania against Voivode Petru and King Ioan, I would like to clear up and explain in a third book the details concerning the location of these two countries and by no means omit Wallachia, and therefore I shall have

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to often interrupt the sequence of ideas and explain the connection between them, the local customs and habits, the rites observed by the inhabitants, the cities, and rivers, a. s. o., as the subject matter would require...

... For, a lot I came to know, as one who has lived in Transylvania for a long time [but], I strived to get acquainted with all those things, according to traditions and the stories told by the native people.

. . . . . .

I shall try to make my account as brief as I can, as things are not utterly new and unknown... prompted particularly by the [thought] to stir the attention of those upon whom the fate and salvation of the Christian states depends, and determine them to take into account the torments of the Christians who are daily shattered by new upheavals, and make them aware of the sweeping danger menacing the rest of Europe losing those countries, so that they should watch out and take pains to preserving Transylvania at least — with Wallachia and Moldavia, things had got worse for a longer time ago — and not allowing it to fall under Turkish authority. For if this misfortune strikes us — God forbid — and the Turks penetrate Transylvania like an axe splitting a tree trunk, they will have no trouble to reach without battle any of the neighbouring Christian countries, and by nullifying the name of the Danube itself they will be able to push the Istros deep into Germany and expand their domination, so much would Transylvania contribute to that tyrant's successes.

. . . . . .

The same as Transylvania's inland is strengthened by various barriers — be they mountains or rivers or roads — and is defended all around from every direction, by the highest and steepling mountains as if framed up by the strongest walls, so I dare say — it might all alone victual with grains and keep up with financial support the greatest majority of the Turkish world, so rich is this country in food, in vineyards, in cattle and full of all kind of raw metals and salt. And the Turks will in this way search into the bowels of this earth much more sedulously than our own people have ever done, as they have been short of money, hands and any means not to say even more, that all these means were completely frittered away on the uninterrupted struggles abroad and uprisings at home.

. . . . . .

In this century of ours, they have been given other names, as almost all the westerners call the Moldavians "dani" and the Wallachians "Draguli", in spite of the fact that they call themselves Romans, nor are they known well enough by their neighbours either, who got aquainted with those names from hearsay, and not all of them, the men of letters alone.

But, it seems that this [name] is the outcome of the Turk's own dealings, namely it was given to them from some of their princes, who, as they exhibited greater skills in running the home affairs and as they also proved to be great and praiseworthy abroad on account of their virtues, had taken over all their forebears' glory whose name extended to that of their own people, and at the beginning it was the Turks who started calling them "Draguli" from their most courageuos Prince Dragula. Therefore, the name spread to

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the Italians, who used it in [their] writings as they knew it [the name] better and so, other peoples adopted it too.

. . . . . .

But even nowadays these states are distinguished into a three-fold division into Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia. The inhabitants of the later two are called Romanians while those of the first one : Szecklers, Hungarians and Saxons ; and I am ready to trust Strabo's assertion that this division comes from that age-old tradition of the Getae and Dacians down to our own times.

. . . . . .

Thus, Transylvania and Moldavia are touching to such an extent in their northern part, that as one stretches eastwardly and the other westwardly, they seem to embrace into their arms Wallachia, which goes southwardly down to the Istros.

And Moldavia borders to the east on the Black Sea and the mouths of the Istros, to the West on Transylvania and the Ceremuş river and the Carpathian mountains, to the south on the three Russias — White Russia, Upper Russia and Lower Russia, as Podolia and Ruthenia are called even nowadays, and was once inhabited by the Roxolanes, to the south it borders on the Danube, on Lower Moesia, which is Bulgaria or Triballia and on Thracia which is "Romania".

Transylvania, in its turn, borders to the east on Wallachia (sic) to the west on the Hungary, where one may reach Oradea by going down the course of the Criş, to the north on the Carpathian mountains which separate Podolia, a province of Sarmatia or of Poland, of Transylvania, to the south on Upper Moesia — or as I have already said — Serbia and on that section of the Tisa river which meanders by Seghedin and flows into the Danube, near a town once called Axium whence and down to the sea, as Ptolemy maintains, the Danube flowing between Illyrian (Slavic) peoples, is called Istros. Nevertheless, its place is not definitely known, except some other possible assumption.

As for the data worth mentioning which I could supply, either drawn from other sources, or by hearsay, attesting to the location of Moldavia and Wallachia — for I have made up my mind to leave Transylvania for the end of my account, as I know it best — I have found out that these are quite large territories, that Moldavia, according to some people, would be smaller and according to others it would be greater than Wallachia, covered with more mountains and more densely clad in woods, as far as the river Prut. And, it stretches further on, plain after plain, in an infinite row down to the Dniester river.

Wallachia is not so rough, its soil is smoother, and it stands out for its luring, beautiful places. Though, both boast of a healthy climate, a fertile soil, and they have plenty of wine, food, cattle and herds of horses.

Moldavia is crossed all over by four main rivers, which flow [all] from the north to the east and then sligtly meander to the south while the three (sic) of them flow into the Istros.

The most important are : the Dniester, called by ancient cosmographers Tyras, the Prut which (they call) Jerassus and the Siret as well as Moldova, after which the native population named [the country] of Moldavia and which turns slightly to the south after passing by the burgh called "Romanvasar", that is the burgh of Roman.

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lingua latina et Italorum vernacula eadem ac certe intelligibilia habent; interrogantes quempiam, an sciret Valacchice: scisne, inquiunt Romane? et an Valacchus esset: num Romanus sit? quaerunt. Nihilominus et Hungarice, et Illyrice, quam plurima proferunt, sed hoc propter varias imperii eorum mutationes, et vicinitatem, quam hinc cum Ruthenis et Polonis, illinc cum Bulgaris, Rascianis et Syrmiis habent. Huc tamen et aliud accedit. Nam apud omnes nationes Illyrico sermone utentes, ut apud Dalmatas, Croatos, Sclavos, Boznenses, Rascianos, Bulgaros, Stirios, Carinthios, Ruthenos, ac etiam Polonos et Bohemos, qui a Dalmatis sunt oriundi, Itali appellantur Wlahy seu Wlazy, qui quidem et Romanis et Hungaris, longe creduntur esse vetustissimi. Nam quo tempore Hunni ex Scythia venerant, legimus in Hungarorum chronicis, quod Pannoniam variae gentes, illectae ejus soli fertilitate, Longobardi potissimum, et Itali Matrino quodam, viro bellicoso, tetrarcha, Romanorum praefecto incolebant, qui similiter utrique Mysiae, Achajae, Thraciae, Macedoniae ac Dalmatiae Romanorum praecrat authoritate. Quare pulsis ex ea Italis, et, quemadmodum eaedem chronicae testantur, permissi ab Hunnis libere Hadriatico mari in Apuliam trajicere, sponteque Valacchis, qui eorum erant pastores, ibidem remanentibus, Hungari in regnum succedentes, ab Illyriis Wlazorum sive Wlahorum nomen, quos ita vocari invenerant, accepere, eosque Olazak appellarunt. Exinde postea mitescentes in dies a Scythica feritate, retinentesque usum

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tionem, et vocem leniorem Valacchos, quasi Wlahos vocaverunt.

Urbes in illis nullae, nulla politia, nulla eximii operis aedificia. In Moldavia dumtaxat tres arces sunt lapideae: Zwchwa, imprimis, principum sedes in ripa fluminis Zereth, dein Hothyn et Nemuz, haec in finibus Siculiae, illa in Poloniae posita. Vicus ut pastoriciae casae hinc inde sparsus, et oppida nullis sepibus communita, domos vero agrestes modice humo evectas, materia sylvestri compactas, limo illitas, et culmo sive paleis tectas inhabitant.

In Transalpina Tergovistum unicum insigne oppidum est, satis ingens, et caput provinciae, ac duae arces lapideae non tales, ut nominentur.*) Reliqua omnia pene ut in Moldavia. Nec alioqui licet apud eos, veterum atque adeo jam et Turcarum imperatorum decretis, fortalitia aut arces condere, neque civitates munitionibus et propugnaculis cingere, solam regni fortitudinem in militum numero ac robore ponentes.**)

Sermo utrique nationi idem est, et fides christiana, Graeci tamen sacrorum ritus, puto ex eo, quod, secundum Strabonem, Graecis erant notiores, quibuscum potissimum conversationem habebant. Mores etiam inculti sunt, et vestis haud par. Nam Transalpini in Turcarum tum mores, tum vestiendi modos penitus degenerarunt, Moldavi vestes mordicus observant, quique apud eos seu Turcicam, seu alterius

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The greatest of all and only navigable river is the Dniester. Moldavia is also watered by many other sources or rivulets, but only as far as the river Prut, whereunto [its territory] spreads out and surges [forming] the mountains. And it is only but natural for Strabo to have stated that the Getae's country lacked waters, for he referred particularly to that region ranging from the Prut to the sea. For this is a flat land, crossed by shepherds and their flock alone, with fountains, here and there, to water the sheep.

And the same Strabo calls this part of Moldavia, in "Book Eight", "The Desert of the Getae" and the other one, oriented from the Poles to the west, is called, nowadays, "Moldavia", from the river Molda, or otherwise, the Mills of the Davae, I dare say — as it flows at the middle of this land — this part was inhabited by the Davae and the other one by the Getae, but they are all one people, distinguishing themselves only by their name and settlement, as both ancient or more recent cosmographers had said..., etc...

Wallachia, if we leave aside some [insignificant] waters flowing all over this country, is crossed by the Olt, which springs out among the Szeckler inhabitants of the Carpathian mountains and from Transylvania it [crosses] the Sibiu mountains where the Tălmaciu citadel is nestled, erected on the site of a former Roman municipium, and Turnu Roşu, a post of defence against Turkish invaders, and from now on it is navigable, meandering first to the west as far as the plain of Sibiu, where it turns to the south to flow into the Istros in front of Nikopolis.

The inhabitants of those places, nowadays, are the people of the Wallachians who take their origins from the Romans, altogether under an utterly changed name. But, as many grope in the dark and different authors have not reached a common conclusion, I shall dwell a little longer on this matter.

Many authors wrote, and almost all modern authors take it for granted, that the Wallachians have been named after a certain Roman subject, Flaccus, under whose command a Roman colony had been sent here to subject the Dacians, and thus [they] would be roughly called Flacci. For they go on saving that, with the passage of time and owing to [all kind] of relationships with various peoples and idioms, the name of Flacci got altered into Wallachians, i.e. Flaccians. [The author has an adverse opinion offering as arguments against it a survey (pp. 131—133) of the Roman conquests in Thracia, Thessalia, Illyricum and showing that no battles were fought against the Dacians under Augustus. Finally, Trajan, the twelfth Emperor since Augustus, succeeded in defeating the Dacians... etc.].

As for Flaccus, there is no evidence of the Getae, or Dacians, or any other population of those places to have been annexed to the Roman Empire under the auspices of that Flaccus. Lucullus, Flaminius... Augustus, and finally Trajan, are mentioned, but there is no trace of Flaccus.

And all histories are full of their deeds in these regions, and it is amazing why their names have no connection whatsoever with the name of the Wallachians.

Moreover, if that people had to get this name from a conqueror, it ought to be Trajan who had undeniably been entitled to give it to them.

[Aurelianus had lost Dacia]... Galineus transferred the inhabitants to Roman Moesia and formed two Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea, which neighboured Bosnia.

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These Dacians are [still] spread far away, all over the Macedonian Illyricum, and Lower Pannonia down to the Istros and the Dalmatian Coast, and they mainly live in woods and mountains and call themselves "Vlahi" or "Vlasi", a name whose meaning I shall explain below. And, there are, among them, the so-called "Martolosians" [with] a name widely spread with the Turks, deriving from their roguish slyness and nimbleness, a name which beyond doubt has spread in Europe owing to their robberies and covered all the Turkish Empire, Therefore, all those who have joined their ranks are granted an imperial writ, exempting them from any taxes...

But, to leave no trace of doubt, we should supply sound arguments, definitely to demonstrate that the Wallachians take their origins from the Romans ; subsequently, I shall bring two arguments forward, and the readers — those who speak several languages — will judge by themselves if I am right or wrong. Leaving aside the numberless words which the Wallachians have in their language, very much similar to and with the same meaning as in Latin or in the Italian dialects, when they ask somebody if he can speak Wallachian, they say : "Do you speak Romanian ?" or [when they inquire] if he is a Wallachian, they ask him if he is a Romanian. Nevertheless, they utter also many words in Hungarian or in Slavic, but this comes off the various changes undergone by their country, and their bordering on the Ruthenian and Poles, and down there on the Bulgarians, Rascieans and Sirmians. But, there is also something else, too. Namely, with all the peoples using the Slavic language, as for instance the Dalmatians, Croatians, Ruthenians and even the Poles and Bohemians, the Italians of Dalmatia are called "Vlahi" or "Vlasi" and they are considered to be much more ancient than the Romans and the Hungarians themselves. For, when the Huns came from Scythia, as the Hungarian chroniclers tell — Pannonia was inhabited by various populations lured there by the fruitful soil, particularly by Longobards and Italians, under a certain tetrarch Matrinius, a warrior and governor of the Romans, who kept under Roman authority both Moesias, Acheas, Thracia and Macedonia as well. Hence, after the Italians had been driven away from Pannonia, as these chronicles tell and they had been allowed by the Huns to cross safe and sound the Adriatic Sea on their way to Apullia, and the Wallachians — their shepherds remained there on their own free will — when the Hungarians' rule was enthroned, they adopted from the Hungarians the eponym of "Vlazi", or "Vlahi", as they found the latter named and went calling them "Vlazi". Later on, as they changed with every passing day and gave up the Scythian savageness, taking over the Latin alphabet, they called with a milder name and suffix the Wallachians which the [formely] had called "Vlahi".

There are no cities in those countries and neither urban civilisation nor more impossing buildings. In Moldavia there are only three stone citadels, first Suceava, the princely seat, then Hotin and Neamț, the latter on the Szecklers' frontier and the former on the Polish borderline. The villages look like shepherd's huts scattered all over, the burghs are not surrounded by any fortifications, and the peasants' houses are little raised from the ground, built of wood joined with clay and covered with straw or reed.

In Wallachia, Tîrgoviște would be the main town large enough and the capital city, and there are other two stone citadels, but much too insigni-

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ficant to be mentioned here by their names. All the other are almost like the Moldavian ones. As a matter of fact, in keeping with the decrees issued by the old Roman emperors and by the present Turkish ones, they are not even permitted to surround their towns with fortified walls, the strength of this country resting in the number and the valour of its soldiers alone.

The language is the same for the two people and so is the Christian faith of Orthodox rite because — as Strabo showed — they were better acquainted with the Greeks with whom they had close relationships. Their customs are barbarian. Their clothes differ, as the Wallachians have almost completely surrendered to the Turks' customs and clothing, while the Moldavians are keen on preserving their own costumes and he who would adopt from the Turks or from any other people part of their clothing or weapons or the like is sentenced to death.

Their princes are called voivodes, which means military chieftain, deriving from "voy" or *voyniza*, which is the Illyrian [Slavic] word for army, and *vody* which means to lend. Therefore they call their soldiers *voinci* and say *voievati* for serving as a soldier. Heirs apparent are both legitimate and illegitimate children, for they go on unpunished if they are married to several wives although they are considered lawfully married only once at a time, and if they do not like it, they can break the marriage between them and their lawful spouse even if children have resulted therefrom, and this is not considered against the law, and a separation writ is issued, the man having to pay an insignificant sum of money to his wife in compensation for the breach of marriage.

These princes used to be once appointed by the kings of Hungary, who sometimes nominated other princes or brought back to the throne the banished ones — so King Ioan [18] brought back Radu [19] and Vlad [20]; the princes used to bind themselves by oath of faith to those kings, paid annual tribute or obeyed them, like people who had been annexed or better say were subjected again to Hungarian dominion by the force of arms of many kings of yore. For, more often than not, the feeling of their former power cropped up in their minds and trying to resume their former authority, raised up in rebellion again. This happened particularly with the Wallachians during the reign of Carol, Ludovic and Sigismund[21], for the Hungarian dominion was worse than one might imagine. And, following the bad example of the Greek princes, they called the Turks in support against Sigismund during the reign of Murad II and Sigismund fighting with them at Nikopolis defeated them and conquered the city. They made this for several times and of late, the Moldavians and the Wallachians agreed together secretly to rebel, and, as usual, entered in close and friendly alliance with Murad, but have been brought back to the rightful faith by Ioan of Hunedoara, a most reputed man of those times, who compelled them to submit themselves to King Vladislav and pay the customary tribute.

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[18] Johannes of Zápolya.
[19] Radu de la Afumați, Prince of Wallachia (1522—1529).
[20] Vlad (Dragomir Călugărul/the Monk), Prince of Wallachia, (1521).
[21] Charles Robert, King of Hungary (1308—1342); Louis I the Great (1342—1382); Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387—1437).

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Subsequently, Mohammed, the Emperor of the Turks, strengthening his power, cut off the friendship with the Wallachians, whom he would rather have as slaves than friends, and fabricating some reason — which barbarian rulers and tyrants have always had at hand — subjected first the Wallachians by the force of arms, then the Moldavians, and exempting them of all other duties, he compelled them to pay to the Turks the tribute they used to pay to the Hungarians, so that by now they recognize the Hungarian kings by their faith and obeyance, and this only in case they fear some danger, as it happened with Petru, bannished by Soliman now.

As for the conclusion of marriages and their observance, the same customs and the same laws govern them all, but common people enjoy even greater freedom than others. For if they like to take a wife to themselves, they would prefer a run-away match than have the girl given in marriage, deeming it would fit them better this way, and the couple would be more suitably and closer matched than if wives were given to them by the parents on their free will, or at the first asking in marriage. And when this is an accomplished fact, they make believe they do not regret it and that they get on well together, through the intermedium of friends, or relatives of the two parts.

. . . . .

They fight more often on horseback. They do not use footmen troops, except for harassing their enemies in mountainous places, and even then they are scattered and not orderly arranged.

The Moldavians' principal weapons are similar to those of the Tartars, the shield, spear, sword and arrows, they do not wear heavy armours, and only a few of the well-to-do wear coats of mail and steel helmets, but, instead, they dress themselves in cotton stuffed clothes, three or four thumbs thick, particularly from shoulders to elbows in the manner of old coats, quilted with stitches at a distance of one thumb and a half from one another, and they think this does finely for an armour as it cannot be pierced by a sword.

The clothes and adornments of the boyars — this is what both nations call the noblemen — are worn by them alone and are made according to a precise rule. [The boyars] wear a lot of rings, dress up in a silk coat sewn in golden thread with a sort of tassels attached, and wear necklaces around their neck, and bracelets, or other such ornaments, hanging from the left shoulder across the chest or from under the right arm to the thighs.

The Wallachians observe no rule in point of clothes or weapons, as they have them all like the Turks owing to some common customs. As if they were stricken with some innate folly, they use to kill almost all their kings, either stealthily or not, and divide all their fortune among them (the Moldavians keep it to the last farthing for the successor to the throne) and it is great wonder if one succeeds in reigning three years running, or die a natural death. Once, they despatched two or three princes in two years and all of them know it quite well that by ascending to the throne they shall find a sure death. But they are so iron-willed and desirous to rule at least once that if thousand men might ascend to the throne for one day, and the same day they would be killed, other thousand lion-hearted people would succeed, deeming that those who succeed in ascending to the throne once at

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least, had died a fine and happy death. That much is their thirst for glory which is typical for a barbarous people.

Moldavians are much milder and are not so rude with their rulers; when they get one ascended to the throne and accept him as their ruling king, they faithfully serve and attend him, save for the case he turns into a tyrant and they feel they are despised by him. They try to get rid of such tyrants, drive them away, as they have recently done with Voivode Petru, with the help of Suleiman, the Turkish Emperor.

. . . . . .

Description of Transylvania.

It is inhabited by "three nations", the Szecklers, the Hungarians, the Saxons, and I would also add, the Romanians who in spite of their being their equals in point of number, they do not enjoy any freedom, have not their own gentry, no right of their own, except for a few who live in Haţeg district which is considered to have been capital of Decebalus, and in the times of Ioan of Hunedoara, a native of those places, they have gained noble ranks for themselves on account of their untiring fight against the Turks. The rest are common people, bondsmen of the Hungarians, with no settlements of their own, scattered everywhere throughout the country, and seldom living in open spaces, more often then not secluded in woods and live a miserable life together with their herds.

. . . . . .

On the military virtues of the Rumanians.

After 1538.

But Soliman was suspecting Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia would unite — if he tried to occupy them — and put up resistance and defend themselves, either by laying traps — which seems credible — or by resorting to force, for they are very well-protected by most abrupt mountains thick and unfriendly woods, deep precipices, quick rivers and dangerous forests, very narrow paths and boast of an amazingly numerous cavalry and a peasant army so skilled and staunch in fighting the enemy in such difficult places that it is hard to believe it unless one can see it with his own eyes. They are dressed in shaggy, brown, rough home-spun coats, wear a pointed cap on their heads pyramidal in shape, and put on *opinci* [a sort of leather sandals] (?) and dark faces due to their beards, long and dishevelled hair, armed with a big stake and a scythe attached to a pole; they are nimble and run in great numbers across these woods and mountains and attack the ranks of the enemy, making no distinction whatsoever if they are in front, middle or rear lines, and harass them night by night causing great losses to and plundering them, or start small scuffles just to keep them awaken.

On the marriage of the Romanians.

There would be some things to be added about the marriage of the Romanians, how little heed they pay to wedding locks and to other relationships and to the next of kin.

With the Romanians, both legitimate and illegitimate sons share elqual rights to succeed to the throne. For, if everybody is allowed to have two or three wives, and high ranking boyars even more, with voivodes there is no restriction whatsoever. Thus, as they have one who they call their wife

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for better or worse, and honour her with the title of "Lady" or bestow upon her their rank and authority and sometimes pay her the highest honours before anybody else, in spite of all this, they love their concubine's children as much as the children they were given by their wife, making no difference at all, and all are considered legitimate and have equal rights to inheritance.

Anton Verancsics (Verantio), 1504—1573 is an eye-witness to the main events occured in Central Europe, from the disaster of Mohács in 1526, up to the crowning of Rudolph II as Emperor. He held high offices in Trassylvania, a province he throughly knew, fulfilled several diplomatic missions in France, England, Italy, the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire, kept in close touch with Erasmus, Melanchton and Honterus, lived in the entourage of some sovereigns, and held, thus the possibility to know thoroughly his own epoch, and produce successful writings on men, places and events. His contemporaries also read with great interest the description of the Romanian land, made by him in 1549.

Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores, vol. III, pp. 119—151. Latin original.

31

1568, December 8 (976 Zu'lhijjah 18). Letter addressed by Sultan Selim II to the Prince of Transylvania, Johannes Sigismund, concerning the mutual observance of the boderline.

Imperial letter addressed to the Prince of Transylvania :

By sending a man and a register (defter) to the high "nest" of our happiness, the abode of the great empires and the shelter of glorious sultans, you have let us know, that on the new census of Buda, besides the villages registered before, there were entered also some villages which belong to the principality of Transylvania. Our Imperial person took knowledge, with all pertaining details of everything said concerning this matter.

Thus the book of entry sent was checked with the register of the High Porte of Our Happiness, the villages entered at the new census have been copied to the letter as well as the villages dependant upon Transylvania that had not been entered in the book. It was sent to the governor of Buda to avoid any future intervention and trespassing by some part or the other. And he was given our severe order in written form in relation to this matter and he was also strongly advised.

Thus, in keeping with our devotion and with your full faithfulness to our Everlasting Threshold, as long as the World would last, you shall also advise your own people, neighbouring on the borderline, not to interfere and not to enter the villages depending on our well-guarded countries and which have been registered in the new census.

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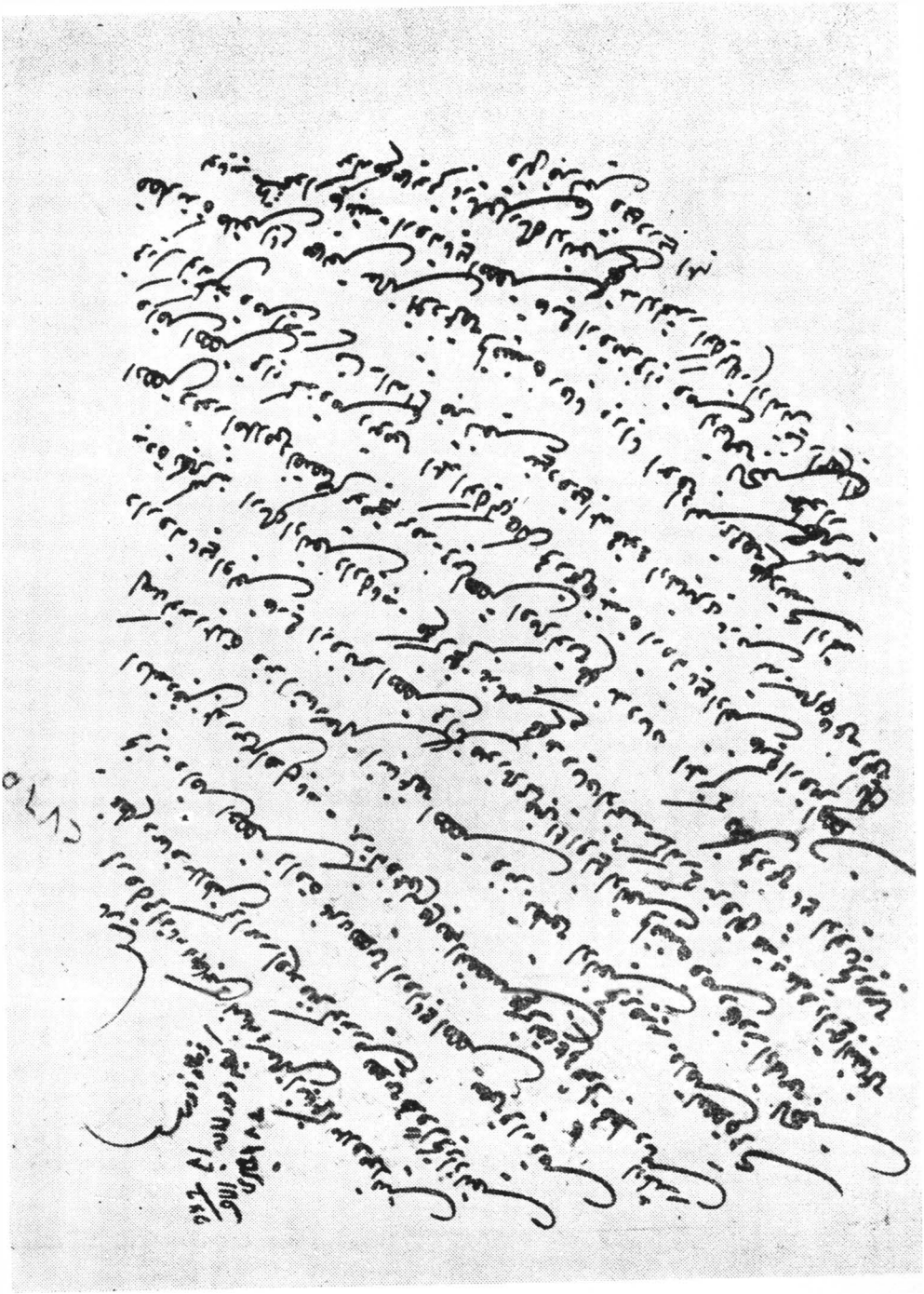

Doc. 31

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Similarly, if some inhabitant of our well-guarded countries enter the non-registered villages, dependant on Transylvania, then, you shall try to come to an agreement with the above-mentioned, and he should do away with him and drive him away, and the name of those who will not observe the prohibition should be written down and reported to Our Blessed Soul's Porte to be punished, so during the Days of our blessful reign, the population of both parts should live in peace and quiet and should never be tyranized or persecuted.

To avoid interference in the villages in the neighbourhood of Timişoara, dependant on Transylvania, not registered in the book, we have written to the Beylerbey of Timişoara let him know of our serious imperial order and he was severely advised to comply with it. If need be, the above-mentioned shall be notified and he shall drive away all those who would trespass the frontier.

The rivalry between the Ottoman and the Hapsburg Empire for the succession to the throne of the Magyar Kingdom was put an end to in 1540—1541, by the division of Hungary between the two Empires. In the same framework, Transylvania gained its statute of autonomous state, dependant upon the Ottoman Porte, like the other two Romanian countries, Wallachia and Moldavia. In exchange of the annual tribute (haradj) paid by the three Romanian lands, the Ottoman Porte committed itself to observe their borders and to lend support against possible foreign attacks, and the pashalyks of Buda and Timişoara were meant to stand as a barrier against Hapsburg expansion into Transylvania.
The present document emphasizes the fact that the Ottoman authorities were denied the right to trespass Transylvania's borders.

Başbkanlik Arşivi-Istanbul, Mühimme, Defterleri, No. 7, Doc. 2765. Turkish original.

32

1594, February 3, Beltök. Letter addressed by Captain V. Prépostvári to Archduke Mathias on the benefits deriving from joining the efforts of the Romanian countries in the anti-Ottoman struggle.

Your Gracefulness, I would humbly put forward to Your Majesty by my dutiful letter, that as soon as with the help of God Almighty the war had been put an end to and I came back home, I did not waver and, on the third day, I sent a trustworthy man of mine to the Voivode of Moldavia. The letter written by me to the Moldavian Voivode and the answer the latter had ordered to be given to me, that is the letter of the Moldavian Voivode, were both sent by me to Your Majesty. I have also sent to Your Majesty another copy of my letter, and I did so, as I would like Your Majesty to master the whole World.

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I beg Your Majesty to bestow Your merciful thoughts on all this. The situation of Moldavia and Wallachia is known by me almost as well as that of the Beci (Vienna) surroundings for I used to stroll over both countries, and more than that, I went across the plains beyond the Danube, facing Moldavia, in the Turkish country. Were the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia truthful and loyal, they might be of great service to Your Majesty and to the country, particularly if they could take alongside of them the Cossacks, first, because the Tartars would never dare to come, they would not leave their wives, babies, and their country void and desert, and even if they were to come — they would be just a few. Then, the Voivode of Moldavia, that of Wallachia might burn and devastate all the land beyond the Danube, as far as Adrianople and even farther away, they might plunder it, and they might take the way to Constantinople, which would greatly impair the army of the Turkish Emperor. Never and by no means could Sinan Pasha hold his ground, and he would be obliged to withdraw, or go back home, or rush upon Wallachia or Moldavia. And thus Your Majesty's army might do its duty in all confidence. As this is the will of God, within a year Your Majesty could free the entire Hungarian Country, Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, for all the nation would openly rise against the Turks, etc.

P.S. Your Gracefulness, the Voivode said by word of mouth that he entered into a close agreement with the Greeks, the Wallachians and the Serbians.

In order to better define his policies and to assess the importance of the battles waged by Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave) against the Ottomans, the Hapsburgs gathered information on the situation of the Romanian countries and on their possibilities to contribute to the general effort in the Anti-Ottoman struggle. Many a document, emanating from the chancelleries of the Hapbsburg Empire and the Polish Kingdom admit that the Romanian Countries formed a shield to protect these countries. Moreover, as the present document shows, for instance, their envoys, well-acquainted with the situation in the Romanian countries conveyed pieces of information regarding the essential role played by Moldavia and Wallachia in doing away with the Ottoman domination in the Balkans.

Hadi Leveltár, Budapest, In Kriegsarchiv.

33

1597, March 12, Armelin, near Nikopolis. Letter addressed by Metropolitan Dionisie Rali to Michael the Brave, informing on the war preparations made by the Christians against the Ottomans.

As Your Majesty had ordered us, the Christians beyond the Danube, to be ready, when Your Majesty would come, to defeat the heathens, when I have seen Your Majesty's letter I immediately called the Christians up, I spent 1,000 golden ducats on weapons and other tools, for they had not been

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armed at all, and distributed, besides, 260 barrels of wheat, and so they were ready to wait for Your Majesty. Have I not done all this, how else could I have raised the Christians ? I also called the Metropolitan of Adrianople, and he came and waited for You to come for twenty days long in the Citadel of Tîrnovo. But Your Majesty did not come, nevertheless we keep our goodwill to Your Majesty, only that we ask You to be so kind and give us notice ; maybe You are willing to make it up with the heathens. For God's sake we beg you not to trust the Turk's beautiful words, neither those of the Prince of Transylvania, for, we shall never be on their side, as we are in great danger on their account. We have also understood that Your Majesty's man had come from the Emperor of the Russians with the news that they had sided with the Poles. Your Majesty should let me know about all this at Your earliest convenience. And I have come here in the neighbourhood of Nikopol, in a village called Armelin. God save Your Majesty !

The South-Danubian peoples recognized Michael the Brave as their liberator. Therefore, they went into relationship with the Prince of Wallachia. Many Serbians, Bulgarians and Greeks entered upon the prince's service and they covered themselves with glory during the battles which they fought side by side with the Romanians. The Greek Banu Manta and the Serbian Baba Novac had their names laid down in the golden book of history on account of their valiance, heroism and sacrifice. Others waited for him ready to raise into arms for their countries' liberation, as the present letter also proves.

Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, Vol. XII, 1594—1602, Bucharest, 1903, p. 291. Hungarian original at Innsbruck, in Statthaltereiarchiv, *Ambraser einkommene Schriften.*

34

1598, June 11, Târgoviște. Fragment from the report submitted by Eric Lassota to the Emperor of Austria, Rudolph II, on the aid in cash or soldiers requested by Michael the Brave.

...Therefore, he is eager, urges, insists and conjures, for the holiest sakes' sake, Your Sacred Majesty to give him money to pay further 5,000 soldiers, horsemen and troopers, in the terms laid down in the letter of agreement, or otherwise be so kind and send him soldiers. He promises, in case of Your Majesty's approval, and if he boasts of stronger troops (especially if the Tartars would not come), then, by himself, with this army of Your Majesty and with his own troops of Cossacks, he would be ready to withstand this year, in these places, the entire force and mass of the Turks. In the meantime the cities of Hungary might be conquered, too. Or, were the Turks to decide to invade Transylvania and they should possibly draw also the Tartars on their side, he would do his best not to let them enter Transylvania, and so they would be compelled to cross the Danube to join the Turkish forces. And would this happen — either will they start by attacking Transylvania or go to Hungary — he would be ready to cross the Danube and devastate

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everything in his way by sword or by fire or to attack the enemy in the rear, at Orşova in Transylvania and so he might thwart and crush their accursed strivings. And he also says, and he is right, as we have been told so by other people too — that if the Prince himself crossed the Danube with some 15,000 or 20,000 men, all the people as far as Constantinople, loathing the Turkish oppression, would start, with a moment's respite, all of them, Bulgarians, Serbians, Albanians, Rascians, united in the same creed, to drive the Turks away as many as they might be. Therefore he holds for him, as a sort of security and as hostages, the sons of the front-ranking men of those nations. He also pledges himself to go himself with all his armies if he were ordered to set out and to be at Your Sacred Majesty's order or at the order of His Serenity the Archduke Maximilian. He boasts of very great possibilities, beyond any expectation, to hit the enemy's head and tear his bowels. And if Your Majesty would like it better, he is ready to leave that place, relinquish the throne and leave the country at Your Majesty's better judgements and watch provided he is offered upkeep and shelter in a proper place. And he ask for one of the two, but rather money than soldiers, who might arrive too late. The Turk [Sultan] does not trust him at all, so, as soon as he finds out the truth, he will attack him first. Nevertheless, he [the Turk] has found out everything about him — as Mihai asserts — through the Poles' betrayal and baseness and Ieremia Movilă's [22] meanness and treason.

Michael the Brave, about whom the envoy of Emperor Rudolph II used to say that he was open-hearted, brave, unwavering, ready to do good deeds and that he could never be hindered in his way, proved during the liberation struggles of 1595 and 1597 how many losses he was able to cause to the Ottoman power. Moreover, if assisted in good time, the Romanian Voivode might successfully resume the battle on various fronts in keeping with the disposition of the Ottoman forces and with their goals. The report submitted to the Emperor points to the most valuable political and military thinking of the brave Voivode.

Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, Vol. XII, 1594—1602, Bucharest, 1903, pp. 360—361. Latin original in Kriegsarchiv Wien.

35

1600, March 10, Braşov. Draft oaths of faith exchanged between Michael the Brave and Sigismund III., King of Poland.

The oaths of faith to be exchanged between H.M. the King and Mihai, the Voivode of Wallachia, drawn up and presented by Mr. Taranowski.

H.M. shall always be the friend of His Grace Voivode Mihail and never provide reasons for enmity, shall live in god neighbourlinnes, under-

[22] Ieremia Movilă, Prince of Moldavia (1595—1606).

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standing and friendship, and anything H.M. the King deems harmful he shall warn H.M. Voivode Mihai and His descendants and let him know thereof in written form. He shall not extend any assistance to H.M. Voivode Mihai's enemy, either by giving advice, or any succour and shall not allow the latters's enemy cross the countries under the Polish crown, as well as those belonging to the Great Duchy of Lithuania. He shall give "ex nunc" Moldavia to H.M. Voivode Mihai.

His son, Nicolai, shall be given citizenship of the Polish Crown and of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, whose place in the Crown Council and in the Council of the Great Duchy of Lithuania shall be between Their Graces the Polish and Lithuanian voivodes, when he is called on council at the Crown.

He and his descendants shall be allowed to buy properties in the Polish Kingdom and in the Great Duchy of Lithuania. And when God Almighty will let death take H.M. Mihai Voivode of Transylvania and Wallachia, then H.M. the King with his entire Republic shall give shelter and defeat to his son Nicolai, and the wife of His Majesty the Voivode with all their children and all the countries and the voivodates left by H.M. Voivode Mihai, while H.M. the King shall give Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania to the former's son, Nicolai and to his descendants in fatherly lineage, after Voivode Mihai's heir shall have been sworn in to His Majesty the King, the Polish Crown and the Great Duchy of Lithuania. And all the above-mentioned states shall be held by the heir of H.M. Voivode Mihai on account of no other right that that of fief, the same as other principalities are held by the Polish Crown.

In the same way, His Most Enlightened Grace, the Voivode of Wallachia and Transylvania shall take the same oath of faith to H.M. the King of Poland and the Great Duchy of Lithuania.

His Serene Highness Sigismund III, H.M. the King of Poland and of the Polish Crown, as well as the Great Duchy of Lithuania is the first to swear and solemnly declare that he shall be his friend for ever, that he shall never handle for enmity, that he shall live in good neigbourliness, understanding and friendship. And he shall notify, warn, never conceal, and always let know by letter or by his envoy of whatever he considers harmful to the Crown of Poland and the Great Duchy of Lithuania. He shall neither give assistance to any Christian or heathen sovereign, of whatever faith he might be, nor advice or news by letter or by envoy against the Crown.

He shall defend against the Tartars, the Crown of Poland and the Great Duchy of Lithuania as well as the lands of Russia, Podolia, Volinia, and Kiev.

He shall send against every foe of the Crown of Poland and of the Great Duchy of Lithuania 3,500 horsemen and as many footmen and he shall support them at his own expense as long as the war might last.

He shall not approach foreign sovereigns, be they Christian or heathen, without previous consent and advice given by H.M. the King. Otherwise, he shall be bound to unite and give to the Polish Crown the Voivodates of Transylvania, Wallachia and the Moldavian country, alias Moldavia, and all the countries he had taken by force and by sword. The same for Chilia, Tighina, Cetatea-Albă, Oceacov and Ismail, by reconquering them from the Turks, at his own expense, shall have to be given by him to the Polish Crown.

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And all the above mentioned countries, H.M. the King shall give to nobody else than the descendants in male lineage of His Grace Voivode Mihai.

So help me God Almighty, Three in One and One in Three, and Our Holy Virgin and all the Saints.

Drawn in Braşov, on the 10th day of March, the Year of Our Lord 1600.

One of the political aims of Michael the Brave was the union of Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia under his sceptre. Noting with a keen political insight the tendencies of the great powers neighbouring the Romanian countries, Michael the Brave tries to negotiate with each and every Christian power which might favour his political project. This can be seen in the negotiations between the Romanian Prince and the Imperial Commissioners which were difficult enough as Emperor Rudolph II wanted to keep Transylvania under his authority, while Michael strived to do the same. He had formally accepted the Emperor's suzerainty, to persuade Rudolph II to accept the solution put forward by him, convinced as he was that the Ottoman Empire and the Polish kingdom would never accept the setting up of a strong great state within the boundaries of ancient Dacia. As the talks with the Imperial Commissioners were dallying, Michael the Brave attempted at fulfilling his political ideal of uniting the Romanian countries into a single state by obtaining the agreement of the King of Poland, in exchange of recognition of the latter's suzerainty. A document telling of such an attempt has come down to us — namely the draft oaths of faith exchanged between the two princes and drawn up by the unofficial Polish envoy A. Taranowski, on January 10, 1600, at Braşov, where the Romanian Prince was by then. Worth mentioning would be that Michael the Brave wished only the union of the territories inhabitted by Romanians, special references being made of the enclaves on the soil the Romanian countries which had been occupied by the Ottomans and turned into rajahs — Chilia, Tighina, Ismail, etc.

Archiwum Główne akt Dawnych—Warszawa, Metryka Korrona Libri Legationum, No. 27. Polish original.

36

1600, May 18, Kamenieć. Letter sent by Voivode Nikolai Herburt to his son Jan Herburt on the defeat of the Poles who had assisted Ieremia Movilă against Michael the Brave.

My dearest son,

I give Your Grace a piece of sad news, Michael has shamefully scattered our men, so that the Hospodar [Ieremia Movilă] himself had to close the city, when he arrived at Hotin. Neither our men can be prouder, for they crossed the Dniester at full speed and not a few of them arrived today at Kamenieć, by 10 o'clock in the evening, in great haste and scared to death.

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The Honourable Master Gydzinski, a man of honour and a knight, had been cut into pieces and carried to Hotin. It seems that the honourable Górski would remain there with the Hospodar. Master Gulski, Master Jordanowski, Master Kosowski and our Master Ludzicki have already reached Kamieniec. It seems, according to what Michael's prisoners have said, that Michael works against the foul Poles and not against Hospodar Ieremia. If this stands like that, we have to follow him in good time. The Diet was also dissolved and they might lose — God forbid — the country's gates and even the best men of this country. Thus, those who had started this evil deed in Poland should turn out even worse than by the flames of Hell.

How good the Old Polish virtues had been, but being short of time I cannot write more to you now. And, with this I offer you to God and to His Holy protection.

Your father, who wishes you well.

Nicolai Herburt of Fulastyn, Voivode of Russia.

P.S. Master Ioan Ludzicki said that 1,000 of our horsemen have already withdrawn themselves beyond the Dniester, as coming from Moldavia, and therefore I send this letter down the valley to you, and even if contains sad news, I beg you to go at your earliest convenience to His Majesty the King.

Failing to obtain imperial approval to banish Ieremia Movilă, the man of the Poles and of the Turks, from Moldavia, and deriving nothing at all from the informal negotiations with the King of Poland, Michael the Brave crosses the Carpathians in 1600 and overthrows Ieremia Movilă. No decissive battle took place as the Moldavians joined Mihai. According to the testimonies of a Polish mercenary, the Moldavian peasants had a hostile attitude towards the Polish mercenaries who protected Ieremia Movilă. Voivode N. Herburt gives a brief account on the sweeping success scored by Michael the Brave in Moldavia.

Bibl. XX Czartorynkich. Kraków. Codex 351, fol. 299. Copy.

37

1600. Memorandum addressed by Michael the Brave to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, containing an account of his deeds in the service of his country and of Christiandom.

Your Most Reputed and Most Honoured Grace, My Benevolent Master,

Answering an ardent wish to put forward to Your Grace some knowledge of my deeds and hardships while I had been in Wallachia and elsewhere, and prompted by an inner desire to make such good deeds to the praise of Our Lord and to the benefit of Chiristianity, which might, eventually, crown all my strivings and gain an everlasting name for ourselves, thus, trusting Your Benevolant Grace, I deem it will not be very troublesome for you to accept my pleasure and get acquainted with the following :

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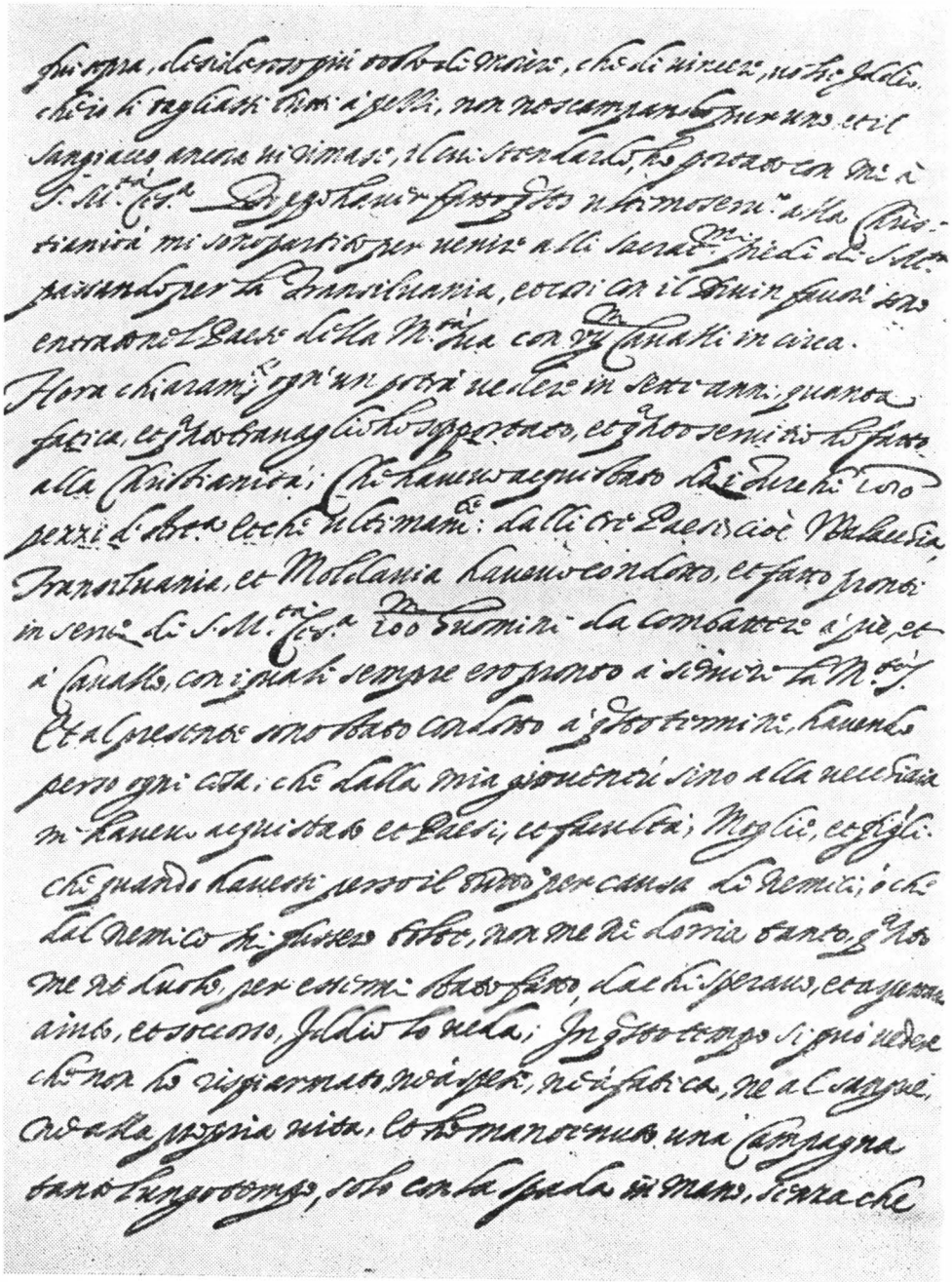

Doc. 37 a

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Doc. 37 b

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When the Emperor of Turks granted me Wallachia together with all due prerogatives and all the freedoms of that country, at my own mercy and reason, having to pay the annual taxes, after I had been given permission to leave for Wallachia, the Sultan sent one of his emirs to accompany me, a sort of bishop of theirs, considered by them a saint man, and besides, the Sultan also wished me to be accompanied up to Wallachia by a lot of spahees and janissaries as well as other very important Turks. And so, in their company I arrived in Wallachia and took the reign. But, as I noticed that they were bent on mischief to the detriment and for the annihilation of the Christians, I made up my mind to part company with them and, despite them, join Christianity. I, for all this, implored Our Lord to make me think right, and so He did.

After Sinan Pasha had left to take Györ, and after he occupied it, the Sultan ordered him to go to Transylvania with the Tartars and spend the winter there. At the same time he ordered me and Aron Vodă, as follows: "Mihail Voivode, I hereby order you to call up all the men in your country, of smaller or higher rank, and all the Turks which are in your country, by now, and in the same manner I have had to order the governors of Vidin and Nikopol and the pasha of Silistra and Mihaloglu, the chief of the cavalry, and all the other Turks and Tartars in Dobrudja, to join me [you] to set out against Transylvania, and Aron of Moldavia should also come along and destroy that province, and reduce it to nothing" as the Sultan wants it repopulated with other people.

Then, I pondered a lot that venture and I sent at once a couple of my greatest boyars to Aron Vodă to tell him that we cannot draw the sword against the Chiristians, for this is not God's will, and as Chiristians as we are, it would be better to gain them and take up arms against the foe of Christianity. At the same time I apprized the Transylvanians of all this. And not only that I did not want to obey to the Turks' order, but I took up arms against them, and I ordered all the Turks in Wallachia to be killed, and they were a lot, but none was spared.

The Tartar had not understood yet my uprisal against the Turks, and he sent one of his nephews to me with his cavalry and a lot of spoils and plunder taken by pillaging slaves and riches, accompanied by 4,000 Tartars, whom he had sent to go home through Wallachia, and then through Moldavia. As for me, I had just ordered the Turks to be killed and I went to take Giurgiu, and while we were struggling there, I was informed that the Tartar's nephew had penetrated into Wallachia. He sent an envoy to ask me to give him free way through Wallachia. I gave him a positive answer, by promising him to meet all his requests, so that he might come nearer to us. When he was as near as possible, and I thought time was ripe, I arranged my men and prayed God, and so I gained my victory and cut them all to pieces, freed a great number of slaves that they had taken and carried along, took their loot and all their belongings.

When the Tartar realized that his nephew and all his men had been killed in Wallachia, he grew furious, and decided that the other Tartars with whom he wanted to go to Transylvania should come upon me in Wallachia. And choosing his best men, he entered into Wallachia at Vidin, sending the more unimportant to take their goods and slaves and go further towards Si-

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listra, through Turkey. And I was also sent a message about this, namely that he entered Wallachia and that he burnt down and pillaged everything in his way ; so, I arranged my men at once to meet him and when we encountered I harassed him so that only a few could escape. So, God helped me to defeat him too and take possession of his cavalry and belongings, and the Tartar himself took a narrow escape and went to find refuge at Silistra. And after taking shelter, he was advised by the Turks of Silistra to join them and go together in Wallachia again. But, he flatly refused by saying that he had seen and tried Mihai Vodă's strenght by himself.

At that time, the Emperor of the Turks sent a certain Hassan Pasha together with Mustapha-Pasha, and a lot of spahees and janissaries headed by their Aga, who was in his turn accompanied by Bogdan Vodă, the son of Iancu Vodă. All had come to enter into Wallachia, in order to enthrone Bogdan Vodă in my place, and no intelligence had been conveyed to me, but I realized it at once, and ordered my men to be prepared and we set off to meet them. And as the Danube was frozen, we crossed it with all my men, guns and equipment, and when we reached Ruschuck I found out that they were ready to bravely face us. I approached and cast a glance at them and immediately threw my army upon them and started the battle. And so, with the benevolence of Providence I defeated them and evinced victorious, killing a great many of them, and both their Pashas fell in that battle ; and Iancu Vodă's son took to his heels, and made a hairbreath escape. I took all their artillery and other paraphernalia, and after having crushed them I set fire to Ruschuck pillaging everything in our way so that my men came off with a booty they would never forget. My next will was to set fire to the environments and cut the Turks to pieces, while the Christians and their families were taken over to Wallachia.

Almost at the same time, or soon after, the Turks' Emperor sent a certain Ştefan Vodă with a great number of Turks to go to Wallachia via Silistra, and farther away to Moldavia to depose Aron Vodă and enthrone that Ştefan in his place. On hearing this, I sent at once one of my boyars, Ban Mihalcea by his name, with an important part of my men who, rushed to cross the Danube on ice and when they encountered, they started to struggle immediately, and with the help of Our Lord my men stood out victorious, killing the enemy to the last man. And all these trifling deeds I had accomplished in one winter time and then I went to take some rest on my throne.

But, not before late, I was announced that the Turks made preparations of war in all their fortresses along the Danubian borders ; so, I divided my men, and I sent a part of them to Brăila, another to Cervena, a third to Turtucaia and a forth to Nikopol, with order to pillage and burn down any Turkish village they would come across, and kill the inhabitant's ; and so they did.

When Sinan Pasha underestood the significance of the damage and ruin, he gathered a great army which he sent against me in Wallachia. Reaching Ruschuck, he started building a bridge over the Danube for his men to cross the river at Giurgiu and penetrate into Wallachia. After having erected the bridge, he came to Wallachia himself and pitched his camp in a village called Călugăreni. And when the news reached me, I heartily set out to meet him with little people I had, and when I arrived at Călugăreni, I found out

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that all were ready for battle ; thus, I prayed God and came to close quarters into one day-long battle, in which I caused great losses to the Turks, to Sinan Pasha's shame, for it was in this battle that he tumbled down from his horse into a great marsh, it was a hard task to extricate him from the mud, so that four pashas and seven governors were killed in that battle, and I was able to win fifteen guns and a green flag of Muhammad, their Prophet, highly praised and esteemed by them, which I have sent to His Imperial Highness. But whether the Transylvanians let the flag pass on, I have no knowledge thereof. And Sinan Pasha was bubbling with rage for having become our laughing stock ; and so he made up his mind to take all his men and come upon us, and, when I realized that we would not be able to stand our ground, I came to Tîrgoviște, and Sinan Pasha went to Bucharest, where he raised a wooden citadel. In the meantime, I let Sigismund know about all this and asked to come to my rescue. And, as I was not sure of Tîrgoviște either, I withdrew to the mountains, at my country's borders, and Sinan followed me up to Tîrgoviște where he erected another earthen stronghold, but he did not stay there for long, for Sigismund came with his army and the men sent by His Imperial Highness, wherefrom we set out all together to fall upon the Turks at Tîrgoviște, as His Imperial Highness had been fully informed. But, as Sinan Pasha had left a day before, we stopped to take the fortress of Tîrgoviște, which, with the grace of God Almighty was soon in our own hands with all the thousand Turks which were there, and, as good soldiers as they were, they fell to the last man. Then, we set upon Giurgiu, and what we did there is not worth telling you, for everybody was able to find out from eye-witnesses, how many and how big my accomplishments for the Christiandom could be in that battle. I only say that I caused great human and material losses to the Turks, and so the Giurgiu citadel was also conquered.

And after defeating Sinan Pasha and conquering Giurgiu, he left for Constantinople, appointing to his office a certain Hassan Pasha, the son of Mehmed Pasha, the beylerbey of Rumelia, who had also been along with Sinan Pasha in that warfare, and witnessed Sinan's shame ; and so he was left at the Wallachian borders. Hence, he peaceably submitted himself to me, sending harbingers to ask for peace. And while the Emperor was going to Eger, Hassan set out to meet the Sultan in Sofia, leaving another pasha in his place.

And as I had good knowledge of all this, and I knew where and what mountains he was going to cross to go and meet the Sultan in Sofia, I sent Baba Novac, the one that Transylvanians burnt at the stakes a couple of days ago, and he set off with his haïdouks, crossed the Danube and went to the mountains to wait for Hassan Pasha there where I told him to go. And when the Pasha was going to cross the mountains, Baba Novac offered him violence, crushed his men, put him to flight, and cut a lot of Turks to pieces, taking all their camels, horses and weapons together with their whole treasure, and returned vicorious to Wallachia, and Hassan Pasha shamefully got it in the neck from Baba Novac.

Meanwhile, the Tartar came with strong forces, with Turks and Tartars, and a lot of Moldavians, to cross the Danube and go through Wallachia to the assistance of the Sultan at Eger. When I saw this I set off upon him,

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but he did not wait for me, and withdraw to his great shame, and I followed him and drove him out of the country ; and thereafter I went to the other side of the country, to take a turn in front of Nikopol, which I did. And as the Turk saw how great losses I was causing to him, he sent me the flag for he was eager to submit myself his orders. But, I did not lose my time and I took the fortress, received the flag, and I put to the edge of my sword as many Turks I was able to find in the fortress.

And when the Sultan took Eger, he wanted to drive the Tartar out of his state, to punish the khan for not having come to his assistance at Eger. On his return, the Sultan sent the Tartar's brother to Tartarian Country, with his own men to support him take his brother out of his state. When the khan understood what's what, he prepared himself to wait for him as he deserved, and when they bumped into one another, the khan caught his brother together with some seven nephews of his, whom he strangled together with his brother. And when I saw the skirmish between the Sultan and Tartar, I sent my envoy to the Tartar with nice gifts, teaching him to say : "You can clearly see that the Sultan wished us evil, that he wants to ruin and destroy ourselves and our countries" ; and I swore upon my own faith together with Sigismund to join our forces to those of the Emperor of Austria, our Lord, whom we obey and serve, in order to persuade him to mediate for peace between us all, and I gave him a great promise in order to make him side with the Christians. Trusting all my promises, he sent me an envoy, his own steward, with letters of strong allegiance.

But it happened that Sigismund yielded his country in to His Imperial Highness and left for Oppeln ; then, when Sigismund had left the commissaries of His Highness, Szuhai and Istvánffy came to take my oath of allegiance. They also understood the khan's words and were able to see by themselves the letters written by his own hand, which I all sent to His Imperial Highness. I no not know if they have ever reached His Highness ; anyway, I have kept all the copies, and they can prove how sincerely I had made my best to reach such an important agreement and how great my contribution to Chiristianity could be, when I dedicated to it a tyrant, a heathen, the Grand and Allmighty Emperor of the Tartarian Country, and determined him to submit himself to the unvanquished Emperor of the Romans, sparing no money, nothing, to this end, hoping, nevertheless, to be duly rewarded by the Christiandom, and that all my expenses would be more than twice paid back to me.

After I had accomplished all this, the Tartar asked me a certain amount of money, promising to wait for the answer for forty days, and so, he stood in expectancy in Turkey, for forty-odd days, for the Khan had one of his brothers in the hands of the Sultan, for whom the latter asked a lot of money, and he was eagerly wishing to free and then strangle him, therefore did he ask for so much money, which I promised to find and give him ; and he waited for more than 20 days after having already waited for 40-odd days. But, seeing that the promise was not fulfilled, he took his men and went with them to the gates of Oradea to the assistance of Satyrgi Mehmed Pasha. When I realized that Oradea was in danger, I made up my mind and sent some help from Wallachia, with one of my captains and several men, with the task of going there and joining without fail the Emperor's troops.

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But, when they reached Transylvania, Sigismund did not let them pass and so they were unable to go where I had ordered them go.

Then, I was given notice that a cavalry commander, Hafiz Ahmed Pasha by name, came with a large army to Nikopol together with Karaman Pasha. As soon as I realized what it meant, and aware that Oradea was in big trouble, I assembled my army and set out towards the Danube with all my men and disposed them in front of their camp. As soon as they espied us, they set courageously off against us and I, praying God Almighty, launched the attack and it was a most beautiful and worth recalling accomplishment, with the help of God, and although they killed the horse I was riding, and they wounded me in my shoulder, I came out victorious, causing them great human losses, as Karaman Pasha was killed in that battle together with many high officiers, while Hafiz Pasha himself had a narrow escape in the citadel of Nikopol. And after God gave me this victory over them, I ordered the attack against the citadel and I sent men to burn and put down everything in the neighbourhoods, killing each and every heathen they could meet. While the assault of the citadel was going on, I soon was short of gun-powder, as I had taken a smaller quantity than I needed, and therefore I put an end to the battle, and went away with all my men towards Vidin, and so we marched for ten days, from the Danube to the mountains and back, from the mountains to the Danube, laying waste the enemies' country and killing as many as I could ; and I took all the Chiristians I was able to find and helped them cross over to Wallachia, together with their families, their belongings and cattle. When we arrived at Vidin, we saw that the local governor was waiting for us, most courageously, together with other governors and Turks inhabitting those places or even from Sofia. Without delay, I encountered them and in spite of all their staunch resistance and struggle, I managed, with the help of God to defeat them and I badly crushed them, cutting a great number into pieces. A spear was also thrust at my chest which I pulled out and broke to pieces myself. I took all their cavalry and everything they had in the camp.

Afterwards, I went to Cladova, a Turkish fortress as well, where I met the local governor who waited for me with a lot of Turks and numerous men, with whom he started to struggle, but as they proved unable to withstand us they made themselves scarce. A great part of them, with the help of God were put to the sword, while others, ran away, closely followed by my men over the fields, who caught and killed them, too. Then, I spent six weeks in the Turk's country, and upon my wish it was burnt down and ravaged all through, and all the Christians I met, I took them over to Wallachia, with all their belongings.

While I was putting myself out to accomplish all this, some traitors from Transylvania fabricated a frame-up and sent me some letters by which they told me that Oradea had allegedly been taken by the Turks and that I should come as quickly as I could back to Wallachia, so that, as it did not dawn upon me that they were cheating, I trusted them and returned with all my men to Wallachia, I crossed the Danube at once, and only then could I find out that the Transylvanians had misled me. Next, after Satyrgi Pasha had withdrawn from Oradea, the Sultan put him to death, for having stayed in Oradea and having done nothing there, and more than that, he even had

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taken an oath of faith to us ; but, we hadn't time enough, to cause losses to the Turk anymore. And Ibrahim Pasha, Great Vizir, was appointed to his office.

Now, everybody would be able to know what great a loss we have caused to the enemy and how big our contribution to Chiristianity was, by defeating them over so great a stretch of land, from the borders of Transylvania to the mouth of the Danube, there where the river flows into the Great Sea, and what great pains I took, day in, day out and night after night, without a moment of peace or rest, in winter or in summertime, sparing no money, nothing at all, and fearing no danger whatsoever.

When Sigismund Báthori yielded Transylvania in to the Cardinal, the latter concluded peace with the Turks and with the Poles as well, and sent me his messengers to tell me that I should comply with his wish and make peace with the Turks, but I answered that as I had made a vow of good faith to His Highness, the Holy Emperor of the Romans that I would side with the Christians into death, and so it was impossible to make peace with the Turks, and I rather die and give my blood in the service of His Imperial Highness, as I have done until now. But my answer pleased neither the Cardinal nor his Council, for he sent immediately an envoy to Ibrahim Pasha, with a great amount of money and very rich gifts, asking them for their flag for the Cardinal to strenghten his position in his country, Transylvania. On the other hand, he sent another envoy to Moldavia, Toma Csomortány, to convey to Ieremia the order to join the Poles and the Tartars and come all together upon me, for he was also willing to do the same. He also sent an envoy to me, Gheorghe Palatics, who came accompanied by chieftain Hüsseyin, who had been commissioned to cross the Danube and meet Güzelce Mahmud Pasha, whom I let freely pass. Then, I understood from my own men who were spying on Güzlece, what the latter had decided on the Cardinal's order, namely that Güzelce was to enter into Wallachia with all his troops, as well as Ieremia, and come together upon me, this is what I could find out from many of my best and wellcovered informers. And so, in the meantime, I sent a messenger to Ibrahim Pasha, thwarting all the plans of the Cardinal, and I insisted very much and persuaded Ibrahim Pasha not to send him the flag.

By then, the Cardinal sent me another messenger, Toma Csomortány, to ask me to leave me country for neither were they, nor the Moldavians, or even the Turks, pleased and willing to see me remaining in Wallachia. And, as I saw that I was encircled by enemies all around, I deemed it better to send back Csomortány with a pleasant answer, asking him to let me find some place in Transylvania, where I could find shelter with my family. And upon this, I wrote to His Imperial Highness, letting him know about everything, and telling him about the friendship I had shown off to the Turks, and about my promise to make peace with them, what I actually did, as I informed His Imperial Highness, so that Ibrahim would have rather given the flag over to me than to the Cardinal.

In the meantime, I summoned as many men as I could, looking forward to a positive answer from His Highness, which, I received later, conveyed by one of my men, who had met one of my boyars at Kosice ; and the answer of His Highness was that I should wait until George Basta would command me to do otherwise. My men decided with Basta that on a certain day I

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should be with my army in the Bîrsa Land, a place in Transylvania, and that he would be in Cluj himself, on the same day, and this is the order and decision with which my envoy came back to me. I prepared myself and arranged my army to be ready in time, and in keeping with the previous arrangements, I went into Ardeal with all my armies, family, children, throne and all my belogings, ready to face anything, either by taking avenge upon the Transylvanians for all inconveniences caused to His Highness, or going to rack and ruin with all my wealth. Thereupon, the Cardinal sent Gaspar Kornis to George Basta, I do not know on what purpose, and I don't even know what they plotted then, but I do know that Basta did not come on the settled date and did not keep his promise ; and I think, that for all this he will answer to God, for having deserted me, leaving me without any help or support in this venture of mine, in danger as I was to lose both myself and my family. But, God Almighty saw how sincere I was and would not leave me in my clash with the Cardinal's army, with whom I started fighting from one hour before noon till late at night, and I did nothing else than fiercely struggle until I defeated them, which is a well-known fact. And so I took Transylvania in the name of God and of His Imperial Highness.

Then, I went to Alba Iulia and summoned all social standings and asked them each to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, and thereupon I called for the Szecklers to come along, as I wanted them also to take the oath to His Majesty, on behalf of whom I promised them the freedom, they very much cherished. Then, I wished to send my own son to prostate himself to the feet of His Majesty, but Wallachia's Divan did not agree with my decision, and asked me to send him back to Wallachia to be their Voivode, for they could not do without a Voivode of their own, and I did not disagree with them and sent him as they requested. Then, I decided to come and submit myself to His Sacred Majesty but, I had not had time enough to fulfil my desire, for I saw how unreliable and treacherous the Transylvanians could be and neither were that province's affairs ordered yet, and the enemies were on the watch all through the country, so that I feared some evil thing might happen to the detriment of His Majesty and to my owh shame.

On the contrary, I realized that the Moldavians, Sigismund, the Poles and the Turks, were pooling their forces to come against me and drive me away from Transylvania.

At the same time, Ibrahim Pasha sent the flag, to me in Transylvania, trying to deceive me, but I used any opportunity to deceive him, and I let know His Majesty about all this. Concomitantly, the king of Poland sent me his envoy to tell me a lot of tales to whom I returned as good as he had sent and answered the King that I was the obedient servant of His Imperial Majesty, and that I pray him order his High Chancellor not to interfere in my affairs and to leave me alone, and, to extend support neither to Sigismund nor to Ieremia Movilă against me, for, as I was at the service of Emperor, anything that would be done against me, was meant against the Emperor himself. And, in this way, I sent the Catholic King his envoy back, contented and relieved, indeed. I understood that the Chancellor together with Sigismund had also sent 50 thousand golden ducats to the Tartar, asking him to team up with them and with Ieremia and penetrate into Transyl-

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vania. I knew about all this from the various spies I had in the Tartarian Country and Poland and from the news supplied by several friends of mine.

After such clear and incontrovertible news, I did not want them find me in Transylvania so I left with my army to enter Moldavia, and once there, I crossed it to meet the enemy, and as soon as I found him, I tanned his hide and drove him away from the country, for they were responsible for the ruin of Christiandom, as they had been the reason for the Tartar's coming several times in Wallachia to dilapidate me, but, I went in his way and threw him shamefully out. And so I thwarted all their plans and schemes with the Transylvanians to take me in. Getting rule over Moldavia, I gathered the people, I had them all take the oath of allegiance, in the name of His Imperial Majesty. And, while I swayed this country, I was informed by the Transylvanians that Sigismund wanted to come with a great number of Poles, through Maramureș and rush into Transylvania. I reckoned there was something wrong there and so I went back to Transylvania, leaving some of my men to watch over Moldavia under the command of Moise Secuiul, whom I trusted very much. As soon as I reached Transylvania, Gaspar Kornis revealed the compact between Moise Seciuiul and Sigismund to whom he had promised either to catch me alive and yield me in to Sigismund or kill me.

When I realized the truth, I announced the Imperial Commissaries and sent, then, Kornis together with another of my boyars, as messengers to the Imperial Court, and, simultaneously, I sent that perjurer and bastard Csáky, to organize the people and the gentry, for I wanted to set off and take Timișoara, as I had mutually agreed with the pasha of Timișoara, namely, that as soon as I was with my army at the walls of the citadel, he would surrender it to me, and I promised him in exchange, to obtain from His Imperial Majesty a place in Transylvania for him to live in peace, 15 thousand golden ducats, and pay for 100 people. To this effect, I instructed Csáky to gather the men I needed, for I had my army with me, and asked Master Pezzen to convey His Majesty's order to George [Basta] to send me people in case I needed them.

His Grace the Archduke Matia wrote a letter to me to let me know that he had charged Basta, Paul Gyulafi and other captains with the mission to come to my assistance. I sent the letters to Basta too, so that he should promptly approach Sătmar with the army of His Imperial Majesty, who had written back to me that I should do that all at once. For the Transylvanians realized that I got the wind of their treason, as I had informed the commissaries and that I was going to put guards at the Polish passes to prevent Moise Secuiul run away to that kingdom as they had plotted in order to join Sigismund. When they got the hang of my intentions, they told Moise Secuiul to go to Poland and urge the Chancellor to hurry up, for all had risen against me. As the Transylvanians saw that the Poles did not appear as quickly as they wished, they started urging them with letters. Moreover, the Transylvanians also knew that Basta was coming with His Imperial Majesty's men to join me and that he had already arrived at Gönez, wherefrom he wrote to let me know of his arrival in that place and that he was eager to be at my side as soon as possible. When the Transylvanians saw that I insisted with might and main for Basta's coming on the spot, they forgot all about waiting for the Poles and chose Francisc Alárdi and Gabriel Haller to go to

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Basta and to His Imperial Majesty's Commissaries, to whom they told all sort of tales about me and persuaded them to set out against me, as they knew that I had not my army and it was an easy thing to catch me alive. After having forged this plan, Basta wrote to me to expect him happily, as he was rushing over to join me. In the same way Master David Ungnad and Mihail Székely wrote to me from Sătmar that Basta had arrived in Gëncz and that they would come together with him, striving day and night to come as quickly as they could. On the other hand, Basta had sent letters all through Transylvania, urging them to raise up against me, of which I hadn't the last idea. At that time, I was told that Sigismund had come and joined the Transylvanians and the Poles. I feared that they might go and join Basta and would never part with him ; to be surer of Basta, I set off to join him myself, but on the third day, the Transylvanians, Germans, Hungarians and Basta — whom I expected to help me in my battle against the enemies of His Imperial Majesty — darted all upon me.

Now, it is as clear as a whistle that they deceived me by foul, shameful means and that they impaired His Majesty and the whole Christiandom. Then, when I saw that things had taken a bad turn, I withdrew with little cavalry as I had got and went to Făgăraş, and seeing that all the country rose against me I reckoned it was on His Imperial Majesty's order. They defeated me and then killed to the last man, after stripping them to the skin, the 900 Szeklers who had been called up under oath, and who confidently came out of the hutches in which they were hidden ; then, they went to Alba Iulia where they put to edge of their sword all the Italians, Greeks, Romanians and Serbians with their families and their babies, and they went to hospitals and did the same, and more than that, they went to the church I had erected, entered and untombed Aron Vodă's corpse who had been buried there long before, and the mortal remains of other of my boyars, and threw them out : neither the heathens had ever been able of such tender mercies. When I reached Făgăraş, I met my men who were coming from Moldavia and who rallied around me so that we might all together take revenge of the shame cast upon me, and all were ready to die for me. I asked them to compose themselves for it did not beseem us to go against my Lord, so I left Făgăraş and went to the Braşov mountains, wherefrom I sent envoy to George Basta to find the reason of what had happened, while Basta sent Sebastian Tököli and Miclăuş Vitéz to me to ask me again to swear and give them my son to be sent to His Majesty and handed over to me some letters of allegiance which I still keep. They also wanted me to send them my wife with all my family and treasury, which I did on the spot, and so I send all my belongings to Mr. George [Basta] as I thought he was His Majesty's man, who, after I had sworn and sent my family as a hostage asking him for help to withstand the enemy, and after he had promised to give me the support I requested, sent me that traitor, Moise Secuiul, who darted upon my men and cut them dead. Then, I sent a lot of my men to George [Basta] to let him know about the things which got into Moise's hands, but they did not let them pass and killed them all.

Thereafter, when I entered Wallachia and saw that I was surrounded by enemies, by the Poles, the Moldavians and the Tartars on the one side and by the Turks, who were all over the country on the other, I clashed with

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them several times. Eventually, realizing that I was not able to withstand such a multitude, I sent all the artillery I had got to Moise to give it to George [Basta] who, willingly handed it over to the enemy. Then, at last, I let all my men go, as I could not afford keeping them any more, and I chose only 10 thousand cavalry-men, and so I left for Lower Wallachia, as far as the Danube, where I found the governor of Vidin with 4 thousand Turks who drove many slaves and cattle to Turkey, and when I encountered him, although I rather wished to die then come out victorious, it was God's will to cut them all into pieces so that no one was spared, and the governor himself fell in battle, whose flag I took and handed over to His Imperial Majesty. When I accomplished this last service to Christianity I left and went to prostrate myself to His Majesty's feet, crossing Transylvania, and God shed his mercy upon me and I entered His Majest's country with some 7,000 horse.

Now, it is most clear to everybody how great pain I have taken and what an effort I have made for seven years running and how big my service to Christianity could be, for I captivated 100 guns from the Turks, and that finally, I succeeded to choose from the three countries, that is from Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia, 200 thousand fighters — footmen and horsemen — ready to be at the service of His Majesty at any time. And now, I came to his end, losing everything I have gained, from my youth to my old age, countries and riches, and wife and children, and I would not have suffered so much if they had been taken by the enemy, but I feel worse for all this was done by those in whom I laid my hopes and from whom I expected help and assistance, but, sure God observes. And, it is quite evident that I spared no money, efforts, blood, not even my own life, and waged this long war alone, by myself, sword in hand, without having fortresses, castles, cities, not even a stone house where I could have taken shelter, as I had just one dwelling. And being in such far-off and unknown countries, I have never hesitated to give all my strength and huge expenses to Christianity, as little known as I was by everybody, and I was not urged by anybody to do all this but by my own free will to gain a name for myself within the ranks of Christianity for the sake of which I deserted all my other friends.

So, now, I ask all the Christians to come to my rescue, for I have lost everything I had, my wealth, my wife, my dear children, all I had got in this wordly life.

The great powers of the time, in that zone, the Ottoman Empire, the Hapsburg Empire and the Polish kingdom, although worshipping different religions, in their desire to prevent the setting up of a powerful Romanian state and to exert, each of them, dominion over the Romanian land, hold out their hands and joined into an alliance, sending their armies to expel from the country and banish from the throne the brave prince, who, for six years of long uninterrupted struggles had succeeded — as history later confirmed — in checking for many decades the Ottoman military efforts directed against Central Europe.

Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo, file 4469, p. 168 and the following. Italian copy.

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1601. A Czech newspaper report on the Gurăslău battle.

On the battle waged by Sigismund Báthori with Mihai, Prince of Wallachia and Georgius Basta, at the Hungarian-Transylvanian borders, this year 1601, on the third day of this month of August, that is Friday after St. Peter in Chains, when the named Sigismundus was completely and shamefully defeated, to the disgrace of his army. (Note) With the approval of the authorities.

Printed in the old city of Prague by Jan Sauman's successors.

(f.2.a). That sperjury of Sigismundus Báthory, forgetting his promise and vow, by which first in front of God and then in front of H. M. the Emperor, he had sworn to all Christiandom, last winter had unexpectedly invaded, together with his supporters, in the country of Transylvania, and entered several castles there with the help and cooperation of several Transylvanians, of his own kind, who betrayed His Majesty the Emperor. And as numerous other Transylvanians who had remained faithful to H. M. the Emperor as their most merciful master, did not agree to such disloyal enterprise and deed, he had them killed and in this way he forcefully brought Transylvania back under his control and rule. And he did not hide at all his deed, for from that very moment he gathered an army formed of all nations, of Transylvanians, Hungarians, Moldavians, Cossacks, Tartars and Turks, and rallied some 18,000 cavalrymen, the rest being footmen, who also included about 12,000 (f.2.b) Tartars and Turks. And with such an army about 40,000-strong he proceeded to the battle and stationed his troops not very far away from a citadel called Boresko, near the borderline between Transylvania and Hungary. And Prince Michael and Gheorghe Basta, Commander-in-Chief of H. M. the Emperor of the Upper Hungarian Army, having good knowledge of his [Sigismund Báthory's] preparations of war, with the help of God Almighty set out with their small army, no more than 18,000 men strong, against him and often clashed with his army efficiently, waiting for other 2,000 cavalry men to come. The latter arrived in the camp on the last day of July, that is Wednesday before St. Peter in Chains' Day, the said Prince Michael and Georgius Basta joined all at once with all their might and strength to set off against Báthory. And as Báthory had settled his fortified camp on top of a hill, they also stationed their camp on another top, much lower, but facing it.

There upon, on Friday after St. Peter in Chains' Day that is on the third day of August between 9:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. (f.3.a), Báthory wanted to forerun them and descend with his troops at the foot of the hill, but the often mentioned Prince Michael together with Georgius Basta did not allow him to approach them at all, but no sooner said than done they positioned their troops in firing line, and rushed with all their army against Báthory's camp, which the Valones scattered, upon which — as the Báthory's [artillery] charges launched from the higher hill could not cause any harm to the Prince's and Basta's armies for they [the shells] passed beyond them while

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the Prince's and Georgius Basta's [artillery] charges launched from the lower hill, hit the target right in the midst of Báthory's soldiers, were particularly harmful — at that tenth hours in the evening, Prince Michael from one side and Georgius Basta from the other encircled Báthory's troops and with the help of God Almighty fought it out valiantly from that tenth hour in the evening until next night and killed over 10,000 men, sparing no one, and scattered Báthory's camp and captured beside important spoils of war, 48 big guns, over 150 flags (110 of them were brought to H. M. the Emperor's Court, at Hrad in Prague on Tuesday after St. Laurence Day and were presented and carried in front of H. M. in the Prague Hrad Square) and found there Báthory's chancellory containing a lot of his secret letters. But they chased Báthory, who had taken a narrow escape on horseback, as well as his soldiers scattered here and there, and with Prince Michael's and Georgius Basta's men from whose ranks only some 200 had been lost in battle, they entered deep into Transylvania.

And we shall keep our readers informed, in good time, of all the deeds they are still going to accomplish.

And now, thanking Our Lord Almighty for this victory bestowed by God alone upon H.M. the Emperor to the benefit of all Christiandom, we shall never cease praying from the bottom of our hearts for other victories over the Turkish tyrants and over other enemies of H. M. the Emperor.

It is well known that in the spring of 1600, Michael the Brave succeeded in completing for the first time the union of the Romanian countries, under his own sceptre. The Imperial General Georgius Basta united his forces with those of the Hungarian and Transylvanian noblemen and defeated Michael at Mirăslău. The Great Polish Hetman Jan Zamoyski penetrated with a mercenary army in Moldavia, and then, in Wallachia. Michael the Brave tried to put up resistance, but he had not enough forces and was defeated. At the same time, the Ottoman crossed the Danube. Michael the Brave realized that he could not withstand and made for Vienna to get from Rudolph II the necessary assistance in order to regain his throne. It is worth mentioning that the Emperor accepted that Michael should reign over Transylvania as well, but Basta's action annihilated this concession, as it was considered by Rudolph II. Michael's fall led to the loss of Transylvania as Basta did not succeed in keeping this principality under the Roman-German Imperial authority. Reaching Vienna, the Prague, where the Emperor was by then, Michael drew up a memorandum which he sent to Rudolph II and to other European sovereigns, in which he supplied an explanation of all his deeds. Following his talk with the Emperor, Michael obtained the necessary stipends to recruit a mercenaries' army, and, together with Georgius Basta, penetrated Transylvania again. At Guráslău, the two commenders gained a new victory over Prince Sigismund Báthory. After having entered Cluj, Basta and Michael made for Turda, the Romanian Prince planning to reach Wallachia, where his faithful boyars — who had succeeded in driving away Simion Movilă, the Prince enthroned by the Polish hetman Jan Zamoyski — were waiting for him to come. The aim of imperials being fulfilled — the conquest of Transylvania — Basta ordered Michael's assassination.

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In the morning of August 19, 1601, a band of Valones, under the command of Jacques Beauri, killed Michael the Brave, at Cîmpia Turzii.

Knihovna narodniho Musea Moravska, Praha, Stare tisky, 33 D1, p. 2 a — p. 3 b. Czech original.

39

1638, September 29, Alba Iuilia. Treaty of Alliance between Vasile Lupu, Prince of Moldavia and Georgius Rákóczy I, Prince of Transylvania.

Gheorghe Rákóczy, by the grace of God, Prince of Transylvania, master of the territories of the Hungarian Kingdom and Comes of the Szecklers, etc., I, myself announce, and do this in person, to stay as remembrance and testimony for those concerned, that between me and the Most Illustrious Voivode Vasile, by the grace of God, Prince of the state of Moldavia and hereditary sovereign, there have been from the very first days of his reign relations of peaceful and benevolant neighbourhood and bonds of friendship, although they have recently been hindered and altered owing to certain facts and reasons. His Lordship, the Most Illustrious Voivode Vasile sent a most honourable envoy to me with full authority to ask me remake and strengthen the old relations of neighbourhood and good-understandig, and I am myself, taking into account the fact that, the same as His Most Illustrious Lordship Voivode Vasile, we are loyal to one and the same Most Powerful Emperor, and that we both expect support and defence from his authority and power and that we equally turn to him, always ready in spirit to cultivate and keep with all our neighbours relations of good understanding and friendly benevolence, and prompted by these reasons, I pledge and commit myself to His Highness and assure His Grace Voivode Vasile, upon our princely word and with Christian good faith, that we shall by no means and in no way be the enemy or foe of His Highness. We shall never harm or injure himself or his authority and we shall take good care of and entertain with His Highness good neighbourly relations. We shall from nowhere assemble enemies or foes either against his person or his authority and we shall neither set or send them against him. Moreover, if some would like to come or go, we shall try and strive to turn them back, with one sole exception being made by our powerful Emperor. Besides, if we were to know that some misfortune whatsoever befell upon His Highness or that he was injured, we should try, by acting kindly and friendfully, to soothe and please him. If, ill-willed and envious people or enemies might plot against His Highness and against the Emperor's will, and if I am called in good time, I shall side with and help His Highness with appropriate aid, as the case may be. If we notice facts or ill-willed intentions, devised in any place wheresoever, against His Highness Voivode Vasile, we shall inform him in good time thereof, and try and thwart them as best as possible.

Nevertheless, we exonerate of all this His Majesty, the most powerful Emperor.

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And against foreign voivodes, as far as possible, we shall try and side with him, with our good will and due help in case of defence. We also add that His Highness Voivode Vasile shall never take steps or set out without our knowledge and consent, by no reason whatsoever or in no way, or raise up in arms and go on warfare — as a foe — against Voivode Matei or against the latter's country. We earnestly warrant to observe the pledges we have taken and we wish them to stay so if His Highness Voivode Vasile would also fulfil and duly comply with the promises he had made and the obligations assumed.

To strengthen the above, we give and hand over, in our turn, the present document, undersigned by our own hand and fastened with our own seal in testimony thereof.

Issued in our city of Alba Iulia, on the twentyninth day of the month of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight.

Georgius Rákóczy

After the fall of Michael the Brave, the unitizer of Romanian countries, the Turks resume their offensive in Europe, their first target being the restoration of the Porte's authority over Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. In the battles waged during the 2nd decade of the 17th century the Poles were defeated and a prince loyal to the Porte was nominated to the Moldavian throne. The Hapsburgs were compelled to give up their long-cherished dreams to rule over Transylvania, which entered in this way the sphere of influence of the Ottoman Porte. Nevertheless, the Ottoman tendencies towards subjecting the Romanian countries were checked by a strong national resistance, which determined the Porte to accept an elected prince. Matei Basarab (1633—1654) ascended to the throne of Wallachia, while Vasile Lupu (1634—1653) ascended to the throne of Moldavia, both proving capable to defend their homeland's autonomy.

The struggle for an independence demanded — as a political and military necessity — the collaboration between the Romanian countries. For instance, the Prince of Transylvania supported Matei Basarab to ascend to the throne of Wallachia, which the Ottomans has allotted to a pretender willing to accept full submission to the Sultan while Matei Basarab in his turn, put up resistance to an Ottoman army in its way across the Wallachian soil, when the Turks made an attempt at replacing Prince Georgius Rákóczy I.

The consolidation of the rule of the three princes was followed by an improved international situation of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, the two-decade long reigns of Vasile Lupu and Matei Basarab being covered with a cultural blossoming age in the Romanian countries. The standing gained through the close collaboration of the Romanian Countries was on the point of being jeopardized by Vasile Lupu's political ambitions. He wanted to become the Prince of Wallachia, but Matei Basarab who proved to be a good military commander repelled Vasile Lupu's attempts. Georgius Rákóczy interceded with the two princes for their reconciliation and the treaty with Vasile Lupu of September 29, 1638 is

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one of his diplomatic endeavours to that effect. On this occasion the two princes pledged to mutually assist each other, to keep in close alliance, recognize the suzeranity of the Porte, special mention being made of Vasile Lupu's interdiction to attack Matei Basarab.

Bibliotheca Batthyónyi, Alba Iulia, Codices authenticarum. Latin original. Vezi N. Iorga *Studii şi documente cu privire la Istoria Românilor (Studies and Documents regarding the History of the Romanians)*, Bucharest, 1902, vol. IV, pp. 209—210.

40

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Describes the beauties and riches of the Three Hierarchs' Church of Jassy.

The monastery of Bey Lupu [23], in the middle of the town, should be seen next. It can bear no description, by word or by pen. Recently built as it is, the brilliant marble stones shine and glitter as if they were leaves on an illuminated parchment. He built this monastery in a periode of six years. Although Sultan Murad[24] had been paid 100,000 golden ducats he was informed later as follows :

"My Paddishah, Bey Lupu has erected, with your agreement, a citadel so strong and great, that you might find it difficult to conquer, even if it were you to go yourself upon it with your army as large as life". Therefore, Khan Murad sent surreptiously one of his spies. When he arrived there he saw it indeed ; it is a big building, but not a citadel, but a patriarchate with no equal in the world. The man rivetted his eyes at the beauties and plan of this church, then, described it minutely to the padishah. Sultan Murad, said only "If Allah helps us, we shall also build a similar djemi " and forgot all about it.

Indeed, it is a church built with great craftsmanship. Both on the inner and inside walls, there are paintings which can easily equal those made by Mani and Behzad and Aga Riza [25], and seem as if alive, only they cannot speak, but their smiles and looks are food for meditation. They can be very well captioned by the following lines :

"Well is he painting the beautys' traits.
"But, oh, Behzad ! — what can you do if you'll fall prey to her charms ?"

And the poet is right, for Allah is the Supreme Being, who put into motion, makes lissom and willowy, and lends smile and silence to all human beings. I have not seen a country in this world to boast of such works and paintings with miniatures so charmingly achieved and matching all-European tastes as those painted on the vaults and cupolas of this monastery. And to show off his skills and talents, the artist has painted on one side of this church, the Garden of Eden and on the other side the Hell and Abyss. He

[23] — The Three Hierarchs' Church, erected on order of Vasile Lupu, Prince of Moldavia (1634—1654).
[24] — Murad IV, Ottoman Sultan, (1623—1640).
[25] — Miniature painters of Old Iran.

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painted the maidens and lads of Paradise, then the highest step of the Eternal Abode, Ilbin [26] and the "Sedre-i münteka" tree [27]. On one side he painted the ninth heaven, with the Throne [Allah's] and the Table [28] and the Holy Pen, featuring the happy life of people in Paradise, in all kind of finely adorned palaces, so that the on-looker would eagerly die the same day in order to be able to go to the Garden of Eden. Besides, by painting in brilliant colours, in fire and smoke, the places in Hell, the Vale of Sorrows, the Ghaia [29], the Vale of the Inferno, the Vale of Tortures and the Pass of Flames, he also featured Nemrod, the Pharaoh, Kharna and Seddad [30] the slanderers, the abettors, the denouncers, the lovers, the lecherous, the false to wedlock, the wicked, the idolaters and the sodomites, livening each other up and depicting them so well, that the on-lookers, ashamed of their own deeds, become pure and unguilty.

The painting featured most impressingly also the well separating the Heaven and the Hell [31], painting on one side the Scales of Deeds, and on the other the bridge on which the righteous [32] are progressing, so that he who sees this is trembling like autumn leaves. Near the door of this church, he painted also the big garden where all the souls will go on Doomsday, depicting the tumultuous welter of people, their laments, terror and horror, achieving a painting which cannot be described by words ; maybe only he who knows the secrets of faith might [describe] it. Woe me, while staring at them, I remained agape.

The portrait I liked best was the likeness of the Evil One. His face was funny and ugly and those in Hell dragged him along by force, tearing him as much as they could. Dear me, I smiled when I looked at him. Humble as I am, I told then the priest who guided me : "Why do you paint them like that ?" And the priest replied : "I swear, my agha, that our people are ignorant when we preach and advise them from the pulpit, and they do not understand our words. We cannot make them understand what we are teaching them by a symbolic speech, like that of your sheikhs. Therefore we have the likeness of those people painted, and when we preach, we point at them : "The Heaven is like that, the Hell like that, the Purgatory is like that, and the rebels like that'." Woe me, I asked him : "But why do you worship these idols, saying that they are God ?" And he replied "God forbid, we do not say that they are God ; these portraits represent Our Lord Jesus, St. Nicholas, St. Augustus and the SS. Apostles, etc. They are accompanied by the portraits of the donors, as well as of other benefactors and founders. When we see them (painted like that) and pass by, we uncover our head and

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[26] — Ilbin, instead of Iliyyun.
[27] — A tree in the Seventh Heaven, according to Islamic eschatology.
[28] — The Table on which the Koran had originally been written and which would be in Heavens (Coran, XIII, 39).
[29] — Fountain in the Valley of Hinnom, Gehenna.
[30] — The King of Yemen.
[31] — A'raf, corresponding to the Purgatory (Coran, VII, 44—46).
[32] — *Sirat-i mustakim*. According to the Islamic faith, this is the bridge crossed by people to reach the Last Judgement, stretching from one end of the Hell to the other. Being as narrow as the edge of a sword, it is only the righteous who are able to cross it, the wicked, fall down and burn in Hell.

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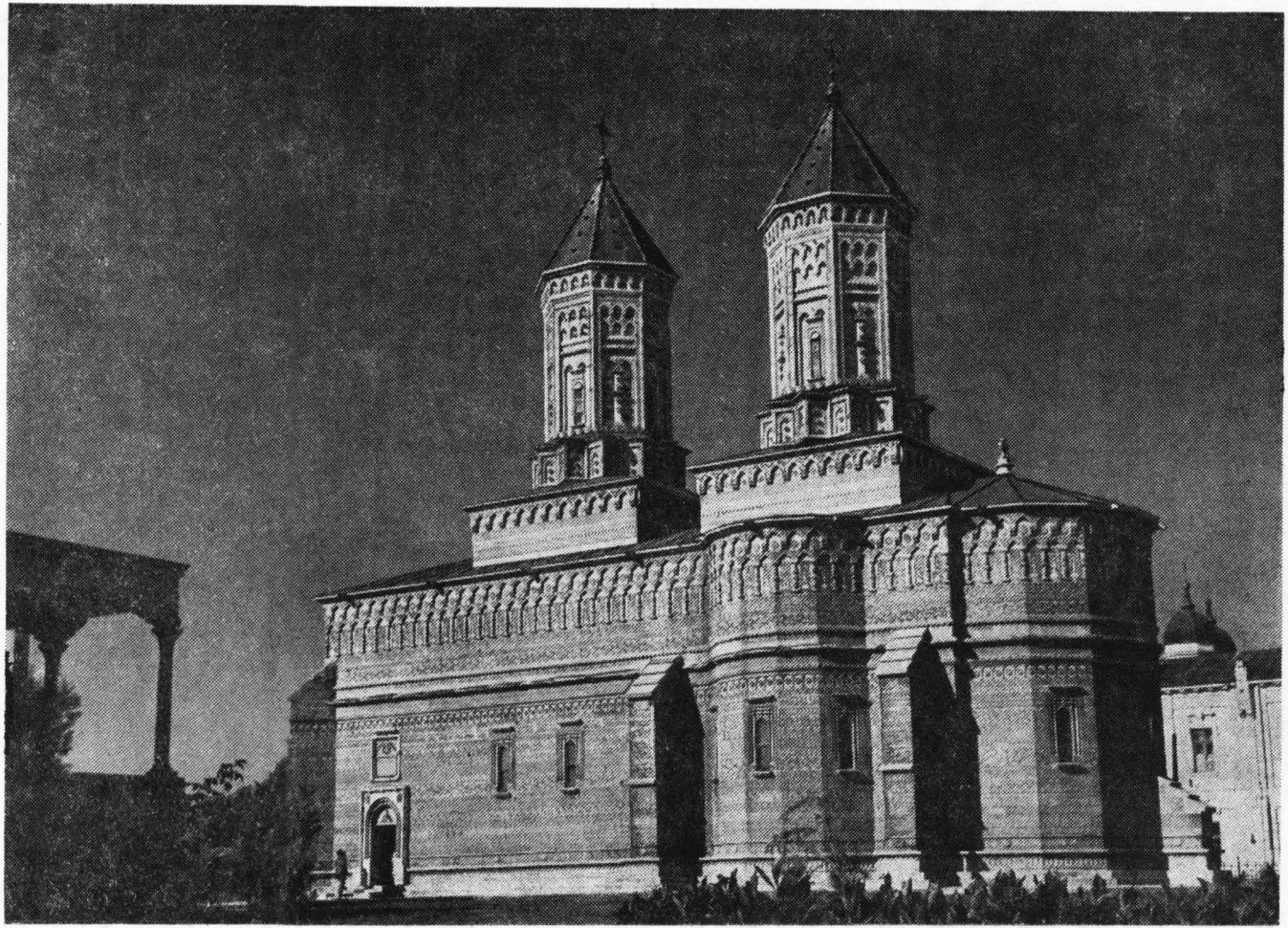

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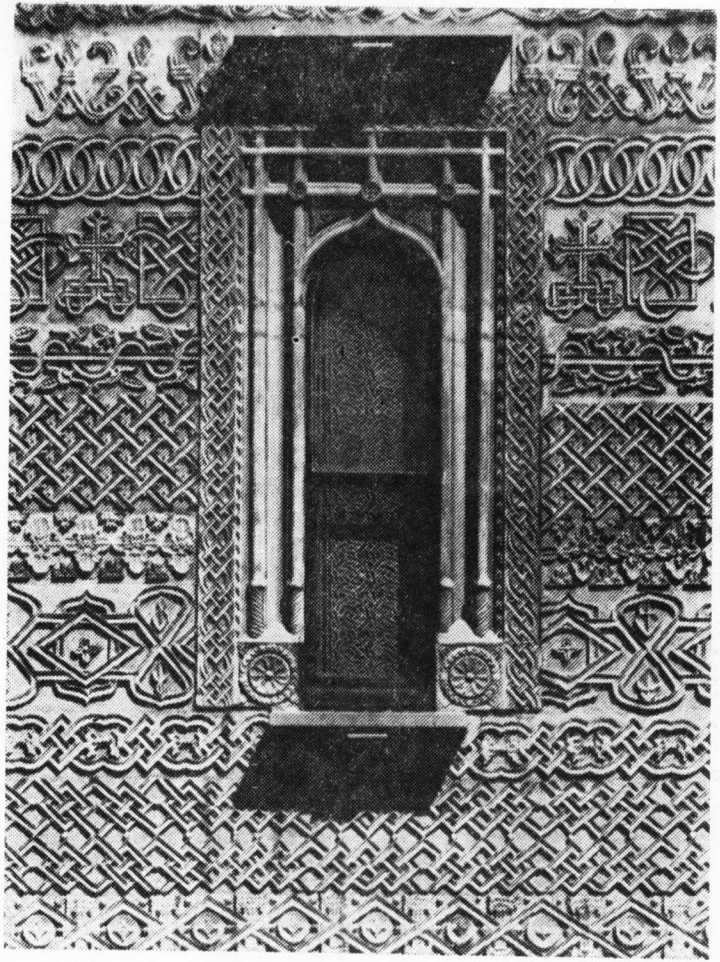

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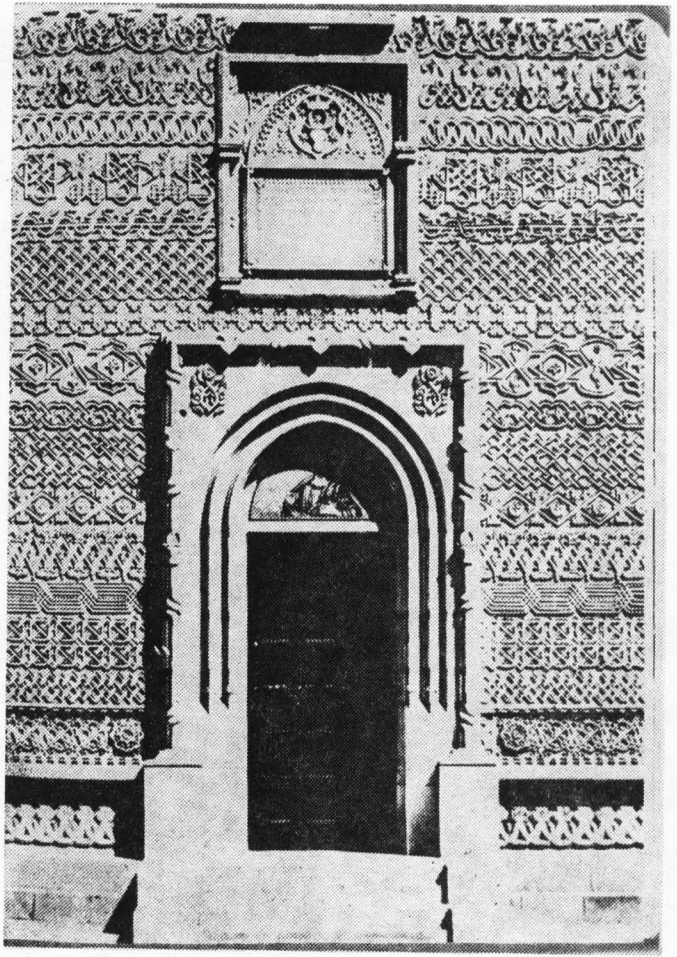

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by whispering a prayer we honour them. But we never say that they might be Our God Almighty. How can you think like that? The people, seeing that we praise them like that, bring us gifts, and we can commission new likenesses and, we gain in this way".

The western door, opening on the porch of this church raised by Bey Lupu, has folds worked in genuine nacre and silver threads, adorned with fine silverware. The censers studded with gems and various rich crosses worked with great craftsmanship deposited in this holy abode are priceless. Very near the place corresponding to the altar (mihrab), is a desklike throne, covered with lace on which they put the Holy Bible. This throne alone is worth the whole Egyptian Treasury. The polished slabs on the exterior walls of this church are adorned with square and curvilinear designs. The tracery is framed up into sun-dialled ornaments, with twisted lines how the sculptor had decorated inscriptions, so that the on-looker is amazed how the sculptor had chiselled the marble. Such painted decorations might be only in Athens, the city of the philosophers and of statesmen, in the Temple of Divine Plato. The Temple of Plato is now Ebu-l-Teth's Djemi [33].

The courtyard of this vast monastery is surrounded by over 100 cells, storeyed or not, for the priests, the monks and hermits, housing no less than 300 anchorites. All look very thin, they are a bag of bones like the Pope of Rome!

This church boasts of many pious foundations and in its Christian kitchen there is plenty of food which is generously given to passers-by. Lupuloglu [34], the new bey sent to this monastery a chandelier, worth 3,000 golden ducats. The walls of this holy abode are made of blocks [of stone] like those used at building citadels. A high bell-tower is placed over the entrance gate, with a bell as big as a public bath cupola. The bell is heard at a distance of a great estate. Last, according to the reckonings of the architects and skilled masters, and of experts in this matter, ten Egyptian treasuries have been spent on the erection of this church and here is the end of it!

Born in March 25, 1611, in Istanbul, the renowned Turkish monk Evliya Celebi, left for us a monumental work, in ten volumes, *Seyahatname* (Travel Notes), in which he described, often with wealth of details, the countries and peoples he had got acquainted with, during his numerous journeys to Asia, Europe and Africa.

Evliya Celebi knew quite well the Romanian territory, as he had participated in the Turkish campaigns organized in 1657—1661 for the annihilation of the anti-Ottoman alliance between Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia.

The present fragment, excerpted from the part dedicated by Evlyia Celebi to the city of Iaşi (Jassy), the capital of Moldavia, is one of the most touching artistic descriptions ever made by the numerous foreign travellers, moved by the beauty of the Three Hierarch's Church, consecrated on May 6th, 1639.

Evlyia Celebi, *Seyahatname*, cild V, Topkapi Sarayî Müzesi Kütüphanesi — Istanbul, Bağdad — 307, p. 106. Turkish original.

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[33] — Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1451—1481).
[34] — Ştefăniţă Lupu, Prince of Moldavia (1659—1661).

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41

Paul of Alep, *Rihlat al-Batrak al-Antaki Makarios al-Halabi*. On the beauties of the Church of Curtea de Argeş Monastery.

Description of the monastery : over the gate, stands the bell-tower, built a couple of years ago by late Voivode Matei. The quadrilateral cells are nicely built of stone, with two superposed verandahs. Right in the middle raises the church. It offers indeed, as people tell, an opportunity for amazement and it is second to none among the monasteries in that country. It was built by late Voivode Neagoe some one hundred and thrity-seven years ago, as I could find out, during my investigations to [discover] the date.

As people tell, there is no marble at all in this country and the Voivode resorted to an artifice to get that material in great quantities. He obtained a hetisherif from the Turk's Sultan to build a mosque in the town in Vidin. And by resorting to this clever trick he brought marble and stone from the Turkish country, by boat on the Danube, down to that locality.

. . . . . .

As the place on which the church was to be built, was on a pond, as I have already said, he filled it with stones and coal ; and when the church was completed, it was a matchless piece of art, at least in point of exterior beauty, for it is much more good-looking if seen from without than within. It is dedicated to [the Dormition of] the Virgin.

The monastery is surrounded by a passage road fenced by [low] stone logs, 318 in all, a figure corresponding, as people belive, to the number of the heads of family in charge, on the Voivode's order, of raising and administering the money for the building of the church. The foundation are laid on huge blocks of stone, encricled by a gully serving at drawing off and flowing of water. In point of architecture, nobody would be able to supply an appropiate description, so varied are the carvings and the lavishly decorated windows, and some are high and narrow, other round framed up like shields. Small arches are placed above, joined by [some] small circles, made of stone, like carved disks. They are 84 in number and they say that the voivode placed a bronze bird with outstretched wings, as if in flight, above each of them. When there wind blows, these birds sing and whistle and the small bells cling under their wings. Only two or three are still left.

This church has four towers and two of them above the gates are high and round in shape, with spiralling ledges which seem to be ready to fall down, as one cannot see how they are proped up. The great tower covering the "choros" is surrounded by seventy arcades, corresponding, as they say, to the seventy disciples.

. . . . . .

In brief, this church is a gem. Its late founder drained his heart of blood to have it built and did not spare any sum of money for its magnificence and decoration. He is the man who brought from Constantinople the renowned icon I have already mentiond as well as other wonderful relics, paying high prices for them. He brought Patriarch Nifon himself to dedi-

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cate this church, mentioned before, as well as all the Fathers Superior of the monasteries on Mount Athos.

The refectory or the dining-hall of the monastery is very large ; and its tower is second to none, but to the castle in our country, we call "Hisn", which is octogonal in shape and laced all over with Solomon's seals.

A journey to Eastern Europe made during 1652—1659 together with his father — the patriarch of Antiochia, Makarios III — was a good opportunity for Archdeacon Paul of Alep (Bulos ibn az-Za'in) to get closely acquainted with the Romanian countries. He used his travel notes to compile in Arab, a narrative, titled *Rihlat al-Batrak al-Antaki Makarios al-Halabi* (The Journey of the Patriarch of Antiochia, Makarios of Halep). The present fragment, referring to the Curtea de Argeş Monastery visited by Paul of Alep in 1656—1657, emphasizes the artistic value of this monument founded by the Prince of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab (1512—1521). Besides — like many other princes of Moldavia and Wallachia — he supported materially and morally the entire Eastern Orthodox and Balkan world, under Ottoman domination by then. His donations had been so rich that the Russian scholar Yatsimirski stated that nobody in the world has done for Mount Athos so much as Neagoe Basarab.

"Patrologia Orientalis", vol. XXII, fasc. I, Paris, 1930. Arabic original and French translation.

42

1744, April 11, Sibiu. Fragment from the report submitted by Count Theobald von Czernin to Empress Maria Theresa, concerning the struggle of the Romanians for social and national rights.

In Transylvania and the adjoining parts, there are of sure some 100,000 tax-paying Romanian families, i.e., several thousand Greek-Catholic Uniate souls. A people, so great in number, which is formed not only of subjects but also of free men, and which has kept its autonomy since the early times of Emperor Trajan cannot be regarded as *advenas et peregrinos in Principatu ad tempus et beneplacitum Statum seu Regnicolarum tantum talerandos* [35] or even mingled with the new coming nations. And I have serious reasons to think that if this nation and the unions depending on it are not granted in facto soon the justice mercifully recognized, their falling back into the Schism would be just a natural outcome thereof, so much the more as the schimatics are enjoying greater compassion and are better defended. The first result of this imminent danger would be the fact that such a great nation, most useful

[35] — aliens or vagrants tolerated in the Principality only as long as the upper classes and the authorities wish and show their good-will.

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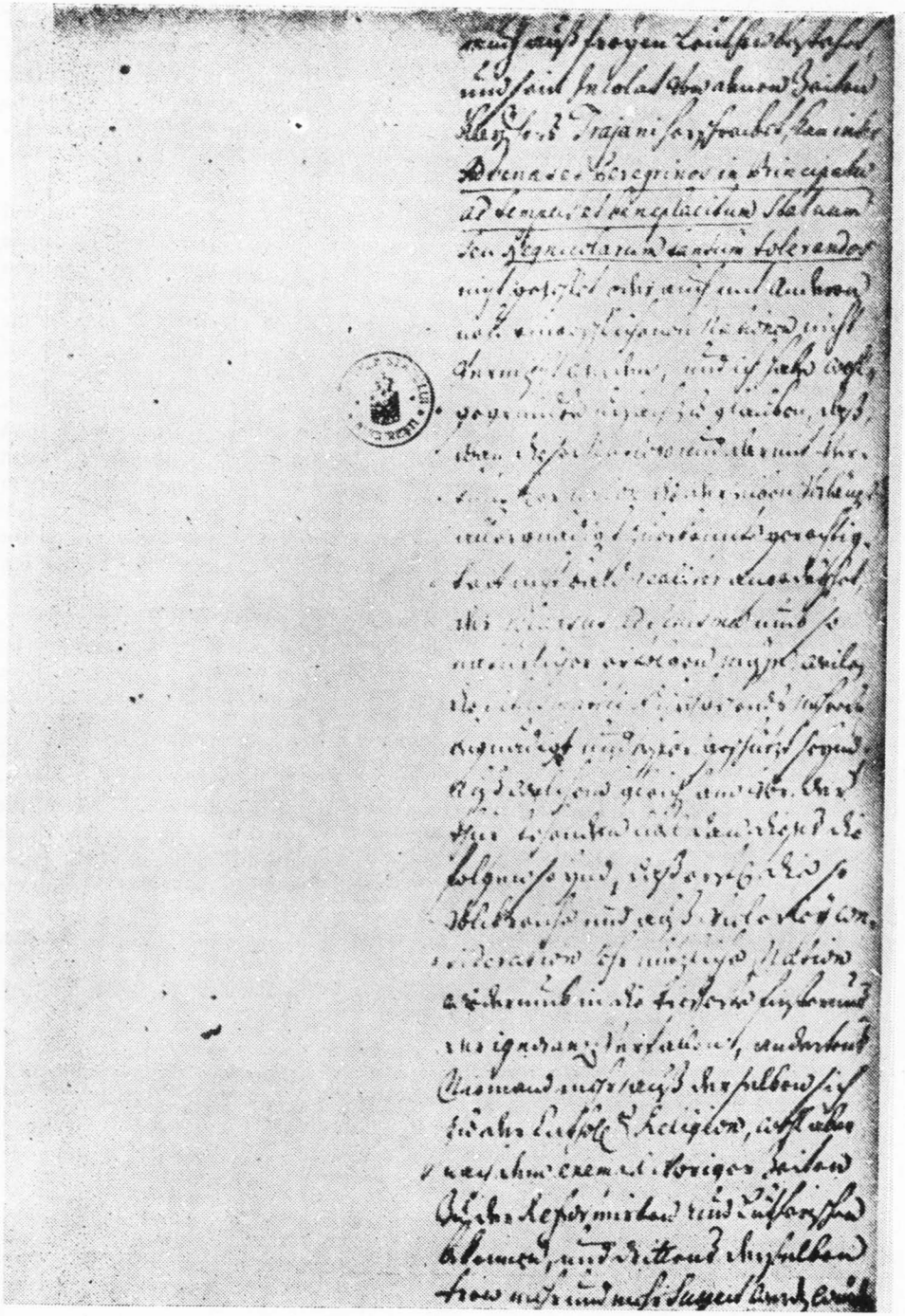

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on account of multiple reasons, might fall again, deep into the darkness of profaneness, and second, no member of that nation would recognize himself as a fellow-worshipper of the Catholic Faith, and more than that, in view of the example provided by by-gone times, they would devote themselves to the Reformed and Lutheran denominations, and third, the faith of that self-same nation would be more and more open to suspicion.

Following the victorious wars against the Ottoman Empire, at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, the Hapsburg Empire succeeded in taking hold of Transylvania. As Catholic faith was a weapon in the struggle for the consolidation of domination over that province, the Court of Vienna strived to persuade the Romanians, forming the majority population of the principality, to unite with the Church of Rome, an action which can be considered completed in 1701. The Union with the Church of Rome was also meant to split up the Romanian nation, and to spiritually isolate the Romanians of Transylvania from those of Moldavia and Wallachia. But the leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians, as for instance Bishop Inochentie Micu, knew quite well to turn the Union with the Church of Rome into a weapon in the struggle for the gaining of social and national rights for the Romanians on the grounds of the justified claims to equal rights with the Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers, which although minority nations, enjoyed privileges; Inochentie Micu carried on for 16 years an uninterrupted activity, submitting memoranda to the authorities in which he demonstrated, by the force of historical data, the right of the Romanian people to have its social and political equality with the other nations in Transylvania recognized. As he had not obtained from Empress Maria Theresa a favourable answer to his memorandum of 1744, Inochentie Micu addressed himself to Count Theobald von Czernin, Field-Marshall and Royal Lieutenant in Hungary and Bohemia, and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Armies in Transylvania. As von Czernin had good knowledge of the situation obtaining in the principality, he submitted to the Imperial Court a report, drawn up at Sibiu, on April 11. 1744, informing the Empress on the state of affairs in Transylvania, accompanied by a memorandum drawn up by Inochentie Micu and entitled *Supplex Libellus*.

Bucharest State Archives, *Transylvanian Documents in Austrian Archives*, Parcel II, No. 113, pp. 17—26. German original.

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THE PEASANT UPRISING LED BY HOREA, CLOŞCA AND CRIŞAN.

In the second half of the 18th century, Romanian society underwent economic mutations which, favoured by reforming laws, facilitated the birth and growth of the first elements of the new capitalist system. Thorough changes are taking place in political life against the background of this economic upsurge, as well as a great number of mutations in social and cultural life, all having a great bearing at that turn of a century upon the making of the Romanian nation. Naturally, the configuration of the territory inhabitted by the Romanians favoured their continuity and unity, the development of their national awareness, irrespective of any foreign domination, of their juridical relations with the continental power or the swirling movements on the political map of Europe.

In the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Romanians suffered a worsened Ottoman immixture in their domestic affairs, during the Phanariot regime. In the autonomous principality of Transylvania, where, after 1691 the Ottoman political domination was replaced by Hapsburg one, the Romanians, who formed the majority population, were considered "tolerated" in their own country. The Austrian Emperor, by the Diploma of December 4, 1691, sanctions not only the privileges of three minority populations of Transylvania — the Hungarians, the Saxons, and the Szecklers, but also the rights of their religious denominations — Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran and Unitarian.

The exploitation of the Romanian peasantry, compelled to perform labour conscriptions up to 208 days a year, duties and serfs' servitudes on the great estates, worsened due

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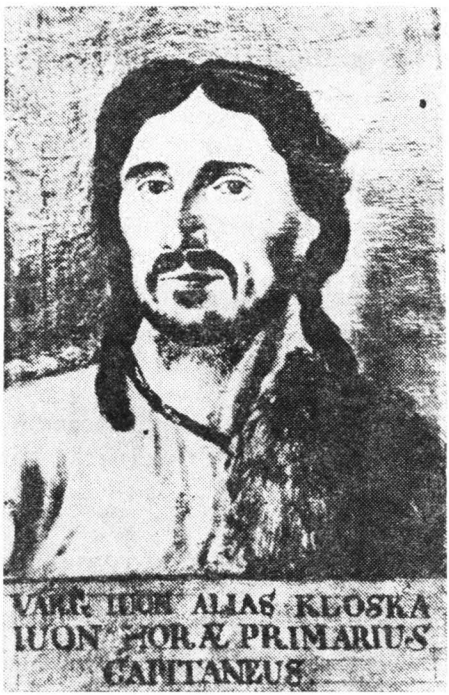

to taxes, public duties, and contributions of the upkeep of the army. Moreover, the Romanians owing to the opposing Hungarian gentry saw all their aspirations towards a better life thwarted, aspirations they had attached on the wish of the "englightened despot" of Vienna, Joseph II, to renew by economic, political and administrative reforms, some state of affairs in the Empire, thus in Transylvania as well.

In 1784, the Imperial Court, with a view to strenghtening Transylvania's military power, tried to call up under arms soldiers for the borderguards regiments, opening the enrollments for the peasantry. Considering enrollment as a means of getting rid of nobiliary exploitation, the Romanian peasants went in great numbers to military recruitment centres. The gentry tried to check the exodus of the population by all sort of measures. Their attempt kindled on November 2, 1784, in the area of the Apuseni Mountains the flame of the uprising, and many noblemen fell prey to people's fury. The peasants, led by Horea, Cloşca and Crişan — their leaders who had advocated the rights of their fellow-countrymen by claims submitted to the Emperor in the previous

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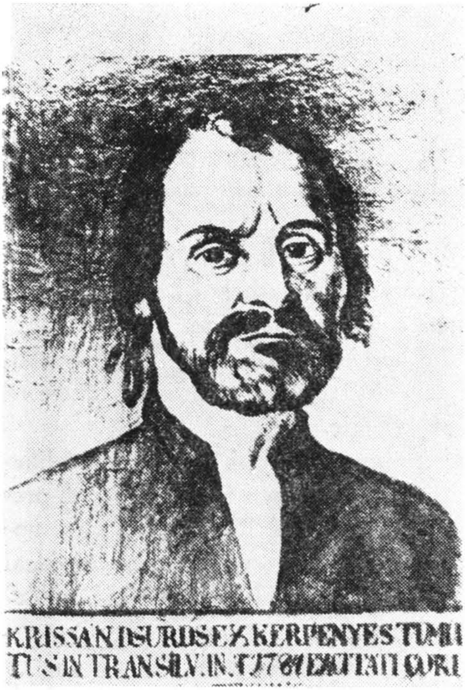

years — attacked the noblemen's palaces, tore away the privilege-granting documents, annihilated the administration, proving in this way their strength in battle.

Essentially, the claims of the revolted peasants materialized in the "Ultimatum" addressed to the gentry, at Deva, on November 12, 1784. The revolted peasants demanded by their programme "the abolition of nobiliary titles, and each of them, if he were able to find some imperial job, should gain his living in that way. The landowners should have their estates for good and pay taxes like common people. Their land should be divided to the people, according to the order to be given by the Emperor".

Thus, the movement was of a deep social nature. But the Transylvanian peasants' rising aroused wide echo in Moldavia and Wallachia. Horea asked for assistance, and the rebels spoke of some important Romanian effectives coming from the other two principalities to their assistance. The echo and the solidarity among Romanians is telling proof of their awareness of being part and parcel of one and the same nation. It was strikingly emphasized by foreign con-

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temporaries who saw in this uprising the wish of this people to free itself and revive Old Dacia. Their arguments were grounded on the statement made by the rebels to "unite with the country".

The enlightened Emperor fearing the effects of their strong upheaval, betrayed the hopes of the masses, and called up his army to suppress the uprising. Two of the three heads of the uprising are broken on the wheel at Alba Iulia, in front of a huge mass of Romanians gathered by force to attend the execution. Crișan committed suicide in jail.

The martyrdom of the heroes of Alba Iulia lend symbolic power to this Romanian city turning it into the centre of the Romanians' liberation struggle.

Although the armed struggle for social and national liberation of 1784, the strongest ever known in Europe and preceding by only five years the French Revolution was suppressed, it led to the abolishment of serfdom. The political leaders of the Romanians of Transylvania would, subsequently organize the emancipation movement, choosing the legal ways. The *Supplex* of 1791, asking for the gaining of rights equal to those of other populations of Transylvania is a political act of the Romanians against the policy of domination and for the conquering of equal rights of participation in the state economic and political life.

By its programme this uprising ushered in the new breath and vigour with which the 1821 Revolution was to be accomplished.

ȘTEFAN ȘTEFĂNESCU
Corresponding Member of the Academy
of
the Socialist Republic of Romania

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43

1784, November 9. Report submitted by the Bihor Country to Vice-Colonel of Bellegarde, concerning the spreading of the peasant uprising.

According to some information that reached us from the neighbouring County Zarand, incorporated into the Great Principality of Transylvania, it seems that the plebs, tresspassing any rules of submittance, have cruelly killed several official clerks, dreadfully massacred the landlords who had been robbed of their belongings, and are now rushing in an irregular uprisal in order to spread fire and death, in places neighbouring this county. We have been reported that this mob of rebellious peasant plebs is five thousand people strong and is greater in number than our internal forces might hope to suppress. The report sent to the Graceful High Royal Lieutenancy Council on October the 16th, 1784, listed under No. 9707 of the County Register, respectfully asked His Honour the Vice-Colonel to be so kind and in view of the importance of the imminent danger, give immediately the necessary instructions in keeping with which at Vaşcău pass and at Beiuş — by sending in the neighbouring places the militia trasferred to the boroughs of Beiuş and Salonta and the granting of any assistance necessary to this aim — the above-mentioned rebellious peasants should be prevented from entering by road into this county. Issued in the General Assembly of November 9th, 1784.

Hajdu-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Debrecen, Biharmegye összeirása, IV. A. 1/b 119 No. 1463. Fasc. III. Anni 1784. Latin original.

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1785.

Insinuatum

Comitatus Bihariensis Illmo Dno Colonello a Bellegarde
tanquam Dno Legionis Dimachat Bechtolingeniana Comman-
danti exaratum.

Ex parte Comitatus Zarándiensis Magno Principatui Transsylva-
niae ingremiati, ea cura Relationes ad nos per-
latae sunt, quod ibidem Plebs excussa omnis Sub-
ordinationis Regula abjecto jam Magistratuales
Officiales crudeliter occideret, compluresque Dnos
Terrestres in Propriis Bonis existentes dirum in
modum mactaverit, et incendiis hujusmodi Tumultus
in vicinissimis Comitatui huic Locis Incendia ac neces
spargendo grassari. Qua quidem tumultuantis
Rusticae Plebis Copia cum jam Numerum quinque
Mille hominum adaequasse referatur, adeoque
amplior sit, quam ut Domesticis nostris viribus
reprimi posse speremus; Mandato Excelsi
Consilii Regii Locumtenentialis ddo 6 Octobris
1783 et No 9707 expedito Insinuari Comitatus Illmum
Dnum Colonellum obsequiose requirendum esse
censuit, ut spectata Periculi imminentis mag-
nitudine eas actutum Dispositiones facere
dignetur, quo praemencionatis tumultuantibus Ru-
sticis via ad Comitatum hunc irrumpendi tam in
Parte Vaskohiensi, quam et Béliensi per
Militiam in Oppidis Belényes et Szalonta
dislocatam ad finitima Loca instituendam De-
stinationem # praecludatur. Ex Generali Congregatione
9 Novembris 1784.

et praestandam Armatam Assisten-
tiam

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44

1784, November 11, Zlatna. Report submitted by the Higher Minting Office Zlatna to the Transylvanian Treasury, concerning the necessary measures to restore order.

No. 6756, Year 1784

To the High Minting and Monetary Treasury

Two of our informers have just supplied the intelligence that a column of rebellious peasants, who had ridden yesterday with Lieutenant-Colonel Blascovici and a detachment of Husars, under the leadership of the well-known rebel Horea, arrived at Valea Albă, and are heading again for Abrud to find there the escaped noblemen with a view to killing them. The roads leading to Alba Iulia as well as the neighbourhoods as far as Almaşul Mare are full of such rebels. If the country takes no measures by which the army should attack concomitantly the rebels coming from Alba Iulia upon Zlatna, and those setting out from here towards Abrud and Mogoş, from Geoagiu to Almaş and from Deva to Cerişor, from Mintea to Brad, and Băiţa and push them back, there is no hope to restore full order and secure safety in such imminent cases. Therefore we ask the high authority of this country to be so kind and determine the High Government take all the measures now, when besides the general quiet disturbed by the inactivity of the establishments — whose workers in their greater majority have sided with the rebels, irretrievable losses are caused not only to the Gold Exchange Office of Abrud but also to the High Minting Treasury and to the Treasury itself all through the duration of this uprising. Without serious measures being taken, there is no hope for this uprising to come to an end, so much so as this evil people had the courage to perpetrate a lot of dreadful crimes. If the uprising goes on, there will be problems with food-supply in many localities, as is the case now, unfortunately, with Săcărîmb. From the attached letter, we could find out that the escaped minting personnel is suffering from hunger. Zlatna, November 11th, 1784.

(undecypherable signature)

Hofkammerarchiv Wien, Münz- und Bergwesen, Fasc. 3107. German original.

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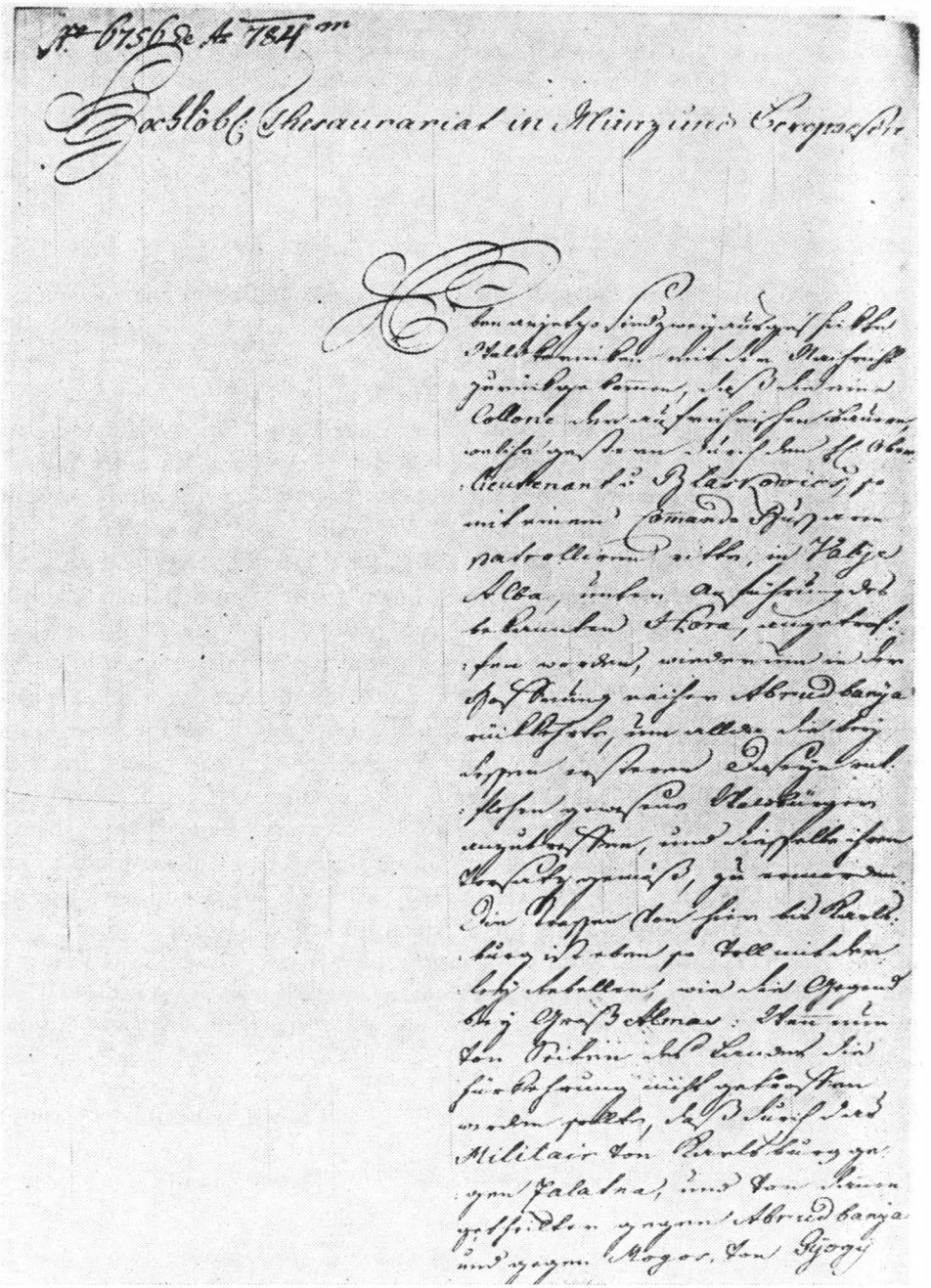

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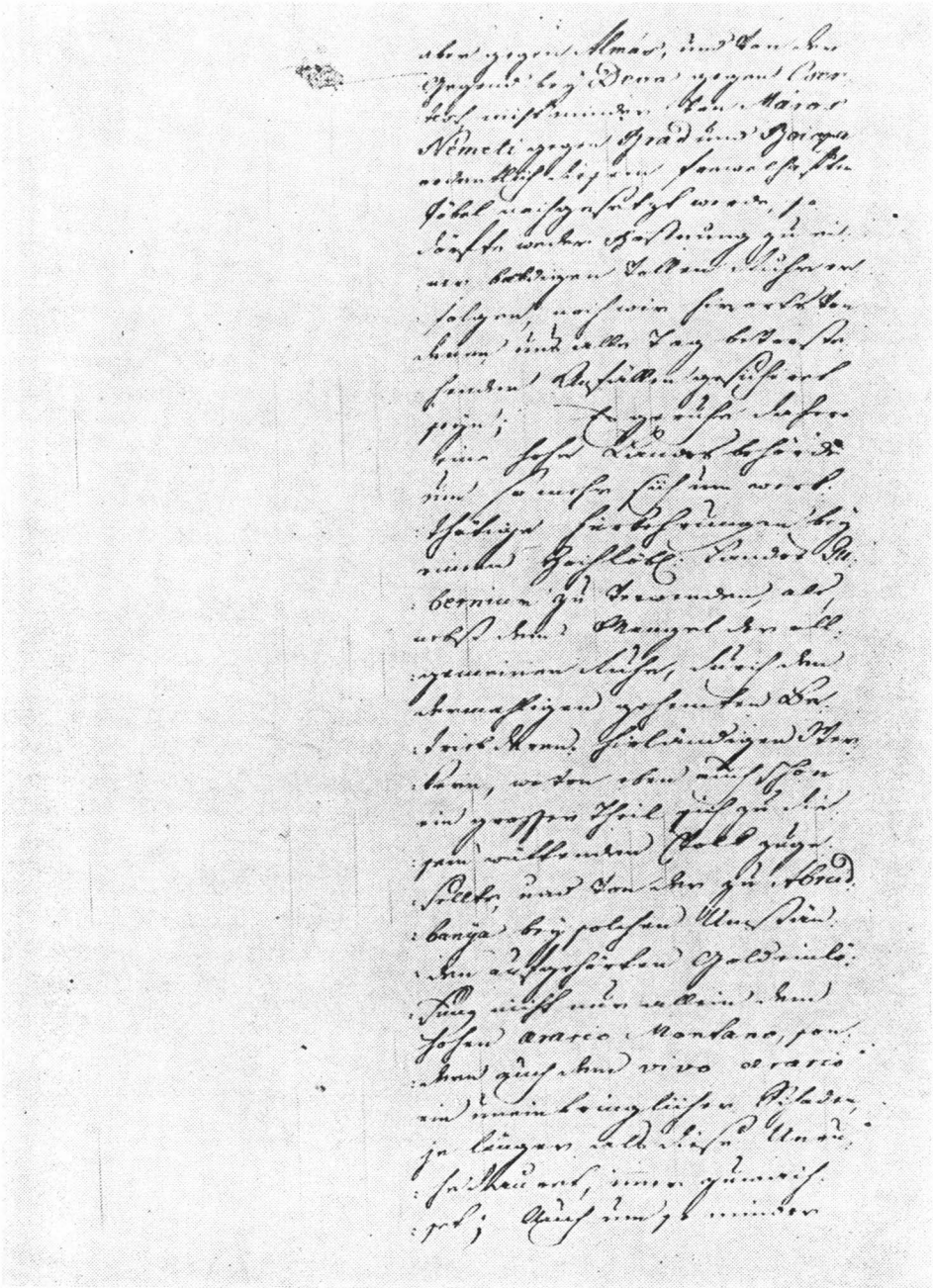

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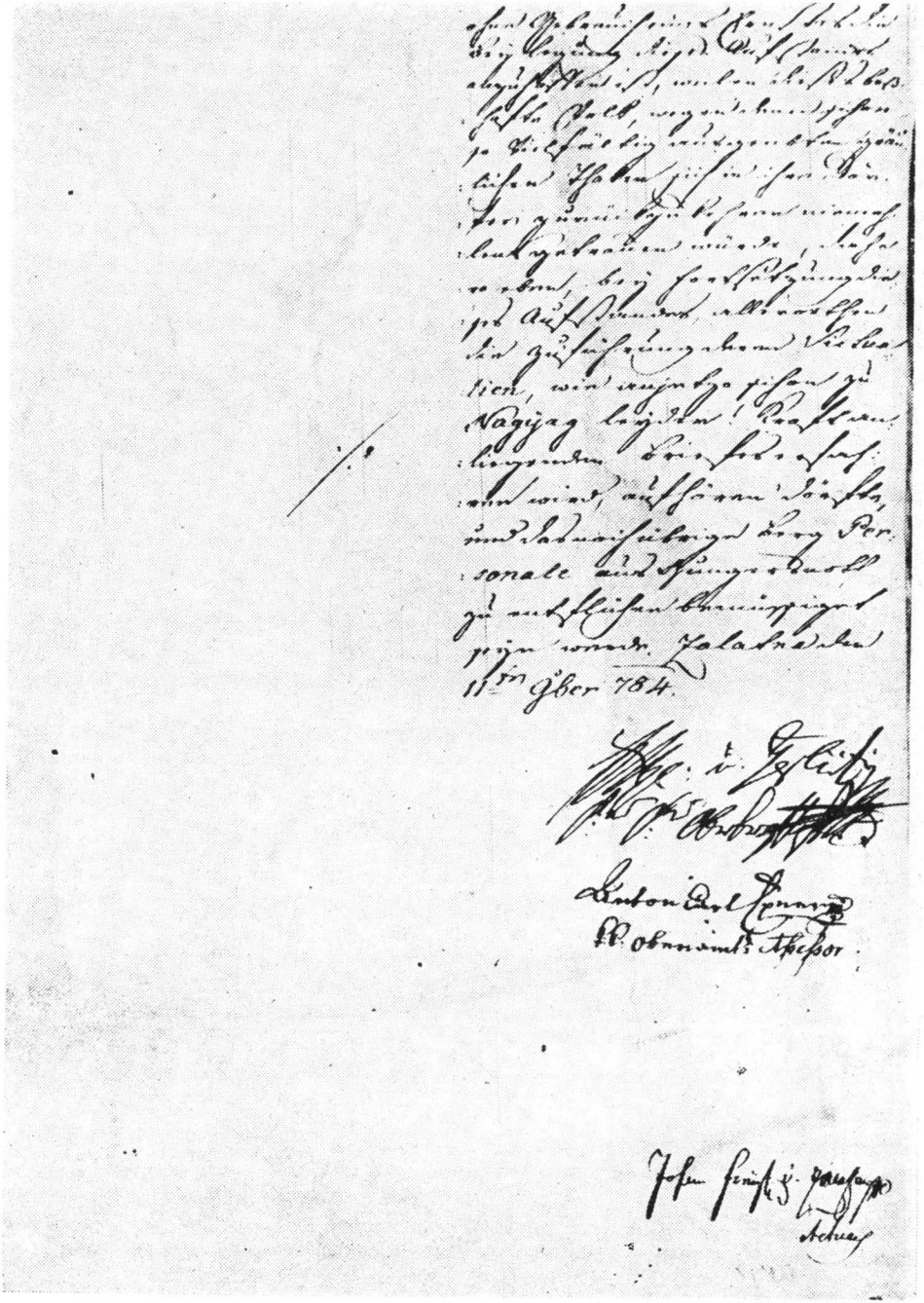

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45

1784, December 3, Vienna. Letter sent by Emperor Joseph II to Archduke Leopold of Tuscany on the hard conditions of the Romanians.

Vienna, December 3rd, 1784

My dear brother,

As the Transylvanian question is concerned, which I mentioned only in brief in my letters, please find enclosed two main reports of the General Command, from which you might form a general idea of the matter. The abuses committed for several years now, in different ways by the ruling people have formed the subject of the general complaint made by the whole nation, and particularity by the Romanians. There has never been any means and ways to remedy this matter, or to introduce the new regulations of the real estates.

The late Majesty tried his best, but in vain, to improve the situation. Finally, I have succeeded in having the regulations drawn up by the Government and the Chancellory ; but it had not been made final as yet. The clerks of the Zlatna County, under the authority of the Direction of the Mines Department, have made themselves known by all kind of fraud. In spite of the repeated complaints and of the commissions sent there, they could not be determined to cease their ill-doings. Finally, when I went to that country, myself, last year, I had a new commission sent there, whose reports had to be addressed directly to Vienna. One was received in March ; but the Mines Department paid no one attention to it until the month of November. The subjects, after having sent, besides the report, their own delegates, have been given written assurances by the Chancellory of Hungary that all they have to do is to go back home and wait quietly for the decision, without fearing anything ; but, as soon as they reached Zlatna, they were arrested and tortured again. Then, a certain Horia by his name escaped and gathered the peasants and stirred them against the rulers and their servants, telling them that the way they were treated by them went against the Emperor's orders ; finally, they demanded to be incorporated in military districts. But, instead of quieting them down and making them submit, the General Commandant instructed one of its commissaries to confine them ; the latter also asked each of them to pay him a small amount of money and entrusted the priests with raising it. Then, the high authorities informed those men who called themselves soldiers and did not want to work for their masters anymore that the recruitment was no longer valid, but they objected saying that it was clear that the Hungarian noblemen tried only to oppress them against my will. Then, they planned to burn the houses of their masters down, to drive them away, but refraining to damage the villages and touch upon anything that belonged to the sovereign. The fire spread out little by little, and the dissatisfied Romanians sent orders from village to village, alegedly from my part, to annihilate the noblemen, what the peasant accomplished without delay.

At the beginning of the unrest, the high authorities and the General Command discussed for five days running what to do. The delay let the revolt

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gain ground and expand, followed by numerous disorders. Finally, the soldiers had to suppress them ; some drunkards put up resistance and several people died. Among others, the Government had unhappily decided that the noblemen should join with their Hungarian servants and rise in insurrection against the Romanian subjects. You can imagine yourself how many and how great the excesses could be. For instance 31 peasants were arrested, and the noblemen beheaded them in one day, without any trial.

I have changed the general commander and I have appointed General Fabius to his office. Two commissaries, a civilian and a military one shall examine this matter in detail and shall seriously settle and redress the claims. The real estate register shall be published, and in expectation of general amnesty, all have to be sent home. I expect, from minute to minute, to receive the news, if the order has been fully observed and if Lieutenant-Colonel Schulz who had spoken had been able to make them submit...

[Alfred Ritter von Arneth], *Joseph II und Leopold von Toscana.* Ihr Briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790. Herausgegeben von... Erster Band, Wien, Wilhelm Braumüller, 1872, pp. 240—243. French original.

46

1784. Memorandum sent by Captain Egermann, a participant in the suppression of the uprising of Transylvania, to the Aulic War Council.

NOTE

concerning the recent uprising of the Romanian people, which took place in Transylvania ; where its main causes can be investigated upon and how such excesses can be prevented in the future.

1. By finally implementing the regulations on bondage servitudes or the real estates registers, contested by the landlords up to now, and by freeing the severely oppressed Valach [Romanian] from slavery ; this would be a way to salvation, in order to teach him to reason better.

2. By regrouping, in order, all the Roumanian villages scattered in the mountains, and by pulling down the isolated huts and destroying the thieves' gangs, without the landlords being allowed to be or act in opposition.

3. The Uniate or non-Uniate bishops, should be obliged, by threat of losing their bishoprics, to form a body of clergymen with better manners and morals, trained in the spirit of true morals, and be forbidden, by threat of the same penalty, to annoint as priest or preacher any individual whose sole merit is that he is able to pay his taxes. The bishops shall have to inspect their high priests more often, as well as other priests, to supervise and control better their behaviour, not to overburden them with unlawful duties and oblige all clergymen to distinguish themselves from the peasants by wearing a descent clerical robe and thus impose by their appearance upon the latter.

4. The counties would be conferred greater authority by relation with the landlords. The greatest majority of the imperial order which a county has

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to put into effect get tied up owing to the opposition put up by the landlords, and the peasant cannot hope to get help or justice in critical moments from the county against the lesser or greater tyrants.

5. The county clerks, the county seat judges in particular, should live in their own constituency and district, watch more carefully over the villages and be less concerned with meeting their own interests ; but, if they are given such terms it is absolutely necessary they shall be better paid.

6. Both landlords and the county clerks are Hungarian, and they seem not to love the Romanian nation considering the Romanians not as subjects to the landlord they belong to, but as their own slaves ; the last action of the marred Romanian plebs rekindled and increased the hate of the Hungarians, so that they would like to destroy them altogether ; and as nobody from the ranks of the Romanian nation (assuming that such thing might be possible) shall ever be taken in the service of the country, the poor Romanian cannot hope to get to much support from this authority either.

7. The Romanian villages have more often then not no notary or communal secretary ; the peasant is incessantly asked upon, accounts are not kept by anybody, taxes and duties paid by him are registered nowhere, and nobody tells him how much he has to pay ; therefore, it would be very well indeed, if each village and whether they are very small every two villages, are given a notary ; accordingly, the former N.C.O.'s who can speak or write in Romanian would be the most capable to keep the village accountancy, in order to civilize them gradually, and strictly watch over their actions.

8. And for the villages located in the mountains and which are almost inaccessible, roads are imperiously necessary from one village to the other ; now, it is impossible to reach by foot the less populated areas, if one has not been used since his youthful years to roam about the existing narrow paths, as for instance the path, in the Cluj County, leading to the so-called Abrud and Intregalde ; all sort of foul deeds may occur in such inaccessible shelters.

9. People in high places should vigorously demand that the imperial orders be better fulfilled ; the greatest majority of landlords keep in their service, under no agreement whatever and acting on their own authority, lots of their so-called bondsmen, although the prohibitive order concerning this matter has already been in force for two years ; it was published for the peasants ; but if they demand implementation thereof, they are driven away, beaten and fettered in chains.

10. It would be welcome if means might be found to put a stop to the surreptitious transportation of salt and to the smuggling at the border between Hungary and Transylvania ; for this opportunity and the wish to gain money strengthens the Romanians ; they have kept their weapons in woods and in drained pools ; while whole caravans pass well-armed through the mountains to go to Hungary, the smugglers and their partisans go in their way, they come to grips and dead and wounded fall on both sides, and the evil cannot be put a stop to ; wouldn't it be better for Transylvania, where salt is sold at somewhat higher prices, if the Treasury tried to gradually find compensation, by adding no taxes except the cost of conveyance over the border to the first imperial salt store and the waggoners' upkeep expenses ?

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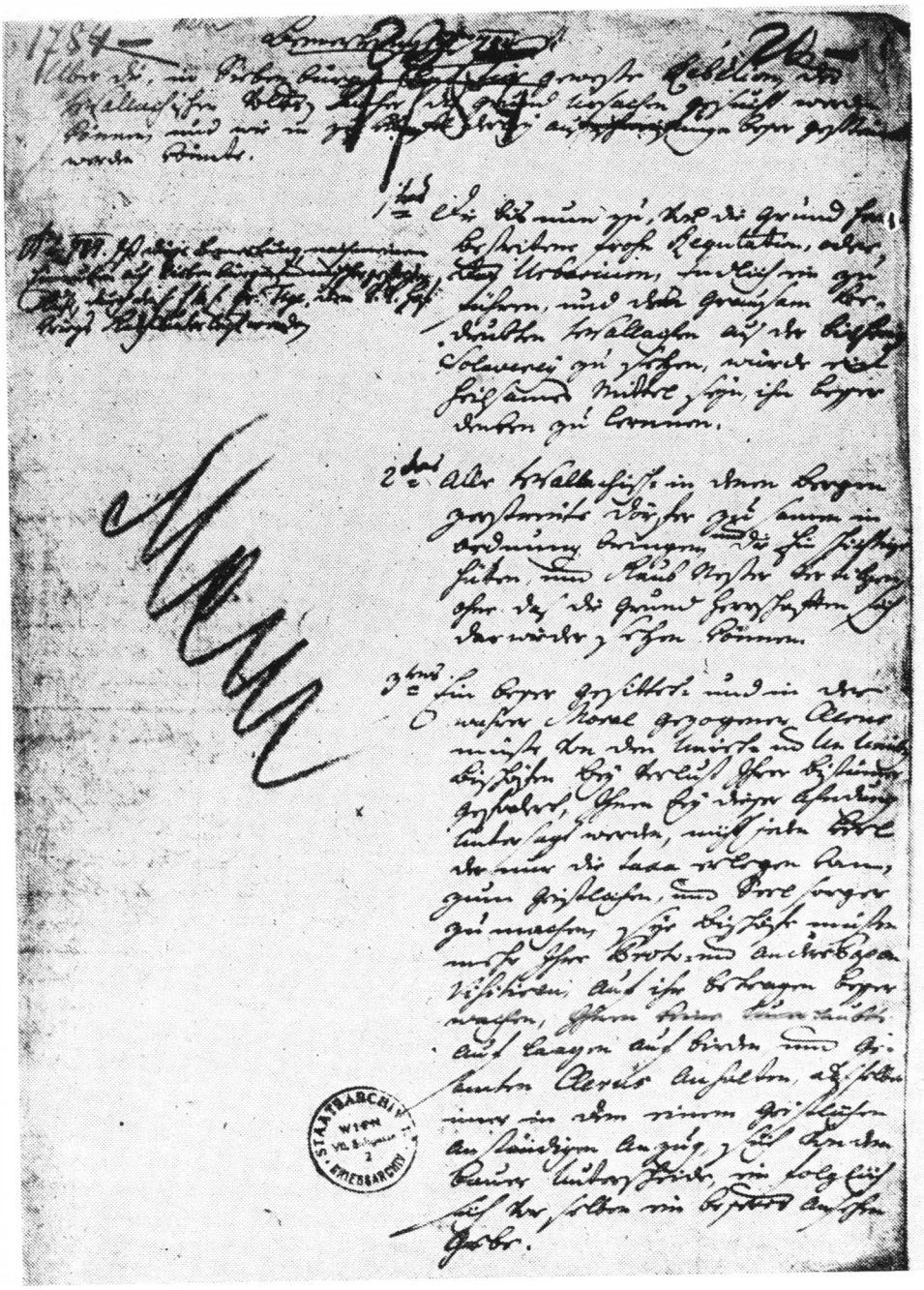

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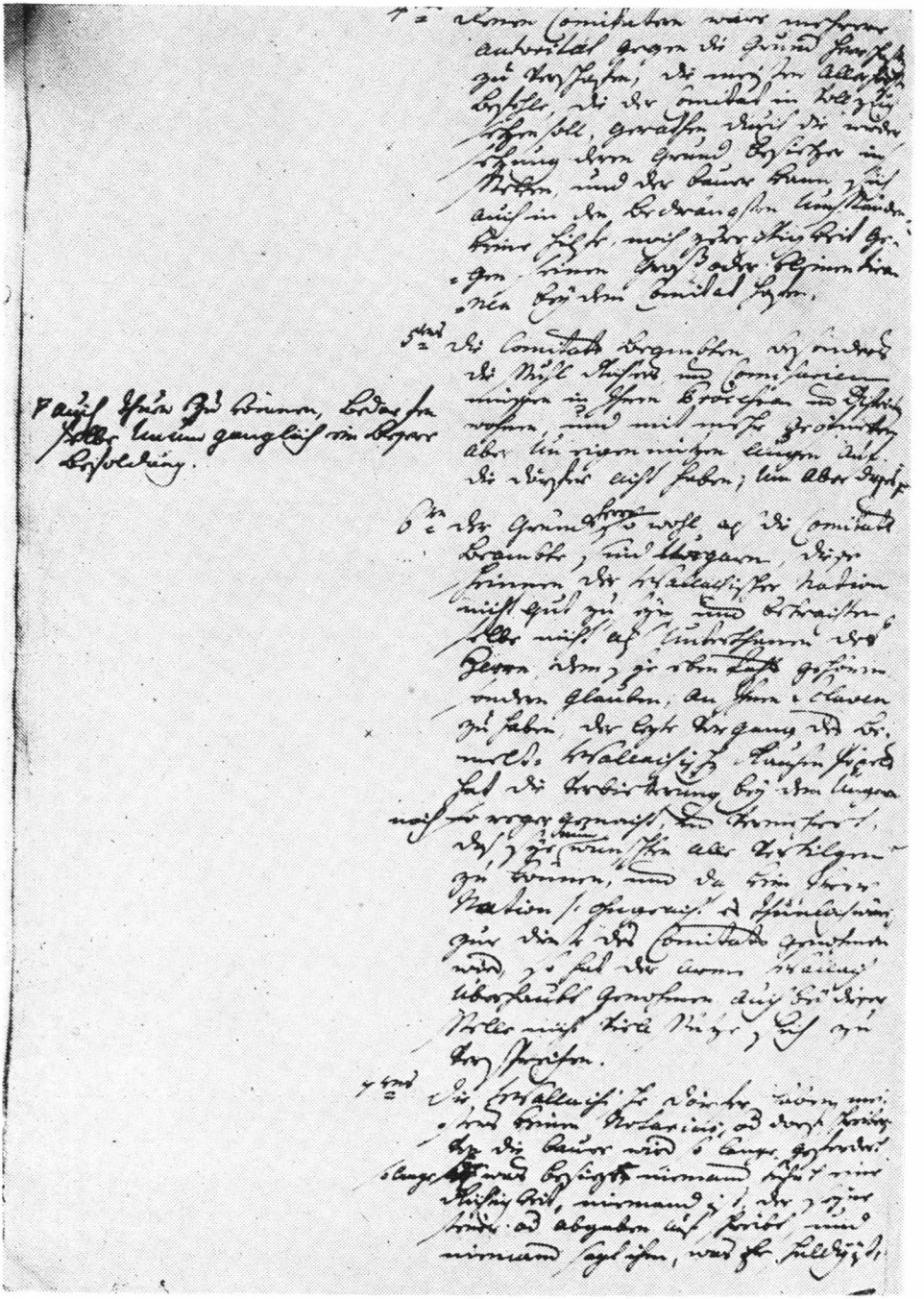

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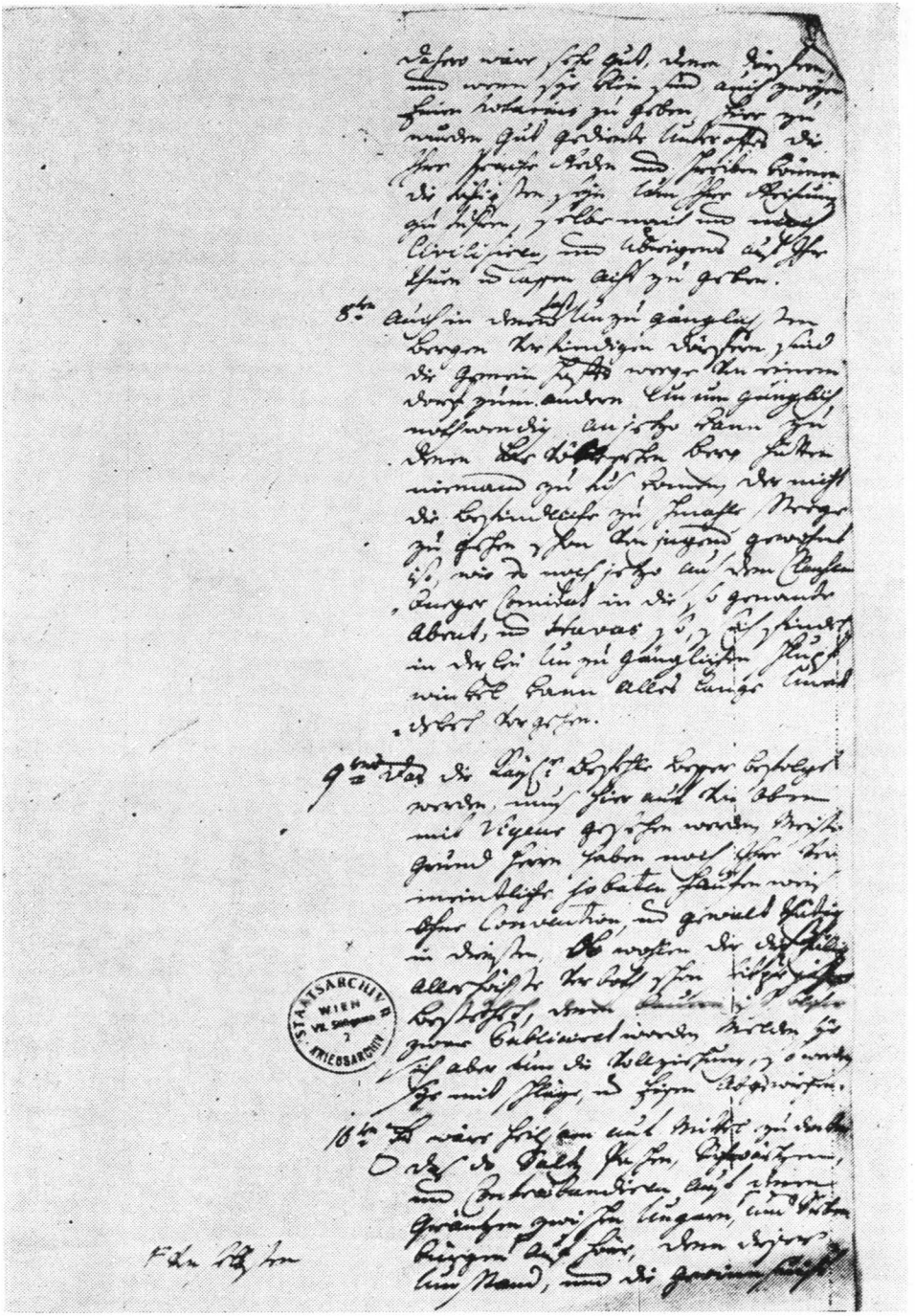

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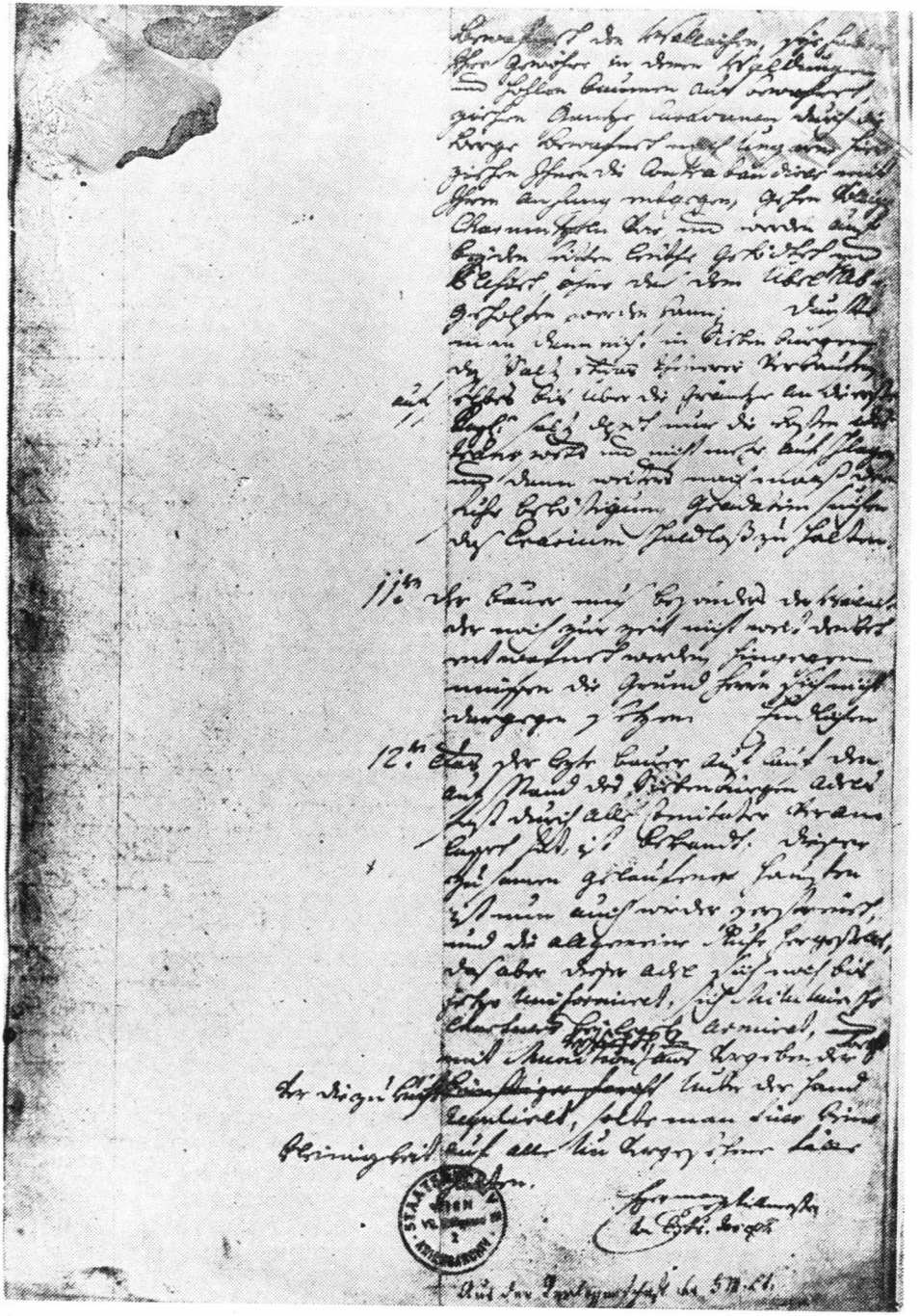

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11. The peasant, the Romanian one in particular — who does not think far away at the present moment — must be disarmed, and the landlords, on the other hand, should not put up resistance.

12. Finally, that the recent peasant revolt caused the uprising of the gentry in almost all countries is a well known fact. This assembled throng was scattered away again and public quiet and order have been restored. But the fact that the gentry still wear uniforms, draws to their side the ex-service men, supplies them with weapons and ammunition, and under the pretext of fearing future troubles, they are surreptiously performing military training, shall not be considered, in imprevisible cases, as unimportant.

Egermann, Captain in the
Joseph Squadron
(From the Succession Gen. Major-Lieutenant
Egermann)

Anno 1784. The present note has been submitted to the Aulic War Council through Field-Marshall-Lieutenant Count Tige, after my return from Transylvania following the restoration of quiet and order.

Kriegsarchiv, Wienn, mem 23/20 1784. German original.

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THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION OF 1821 LED BY TUDOR VLADIMIRESCU

The bourgeois revolution of 1821 is an event upon which history has cast the priviledge to usher in new epochs in the history of the peoples.

Led by the national hero Tudor Vladimirescu, a brilliant representative of Romanian popular energies — the main ideologist, a skilled military commander and clear-sighted statesman, a good organiser — the Revolution strongly shattered the existing order in Romanian society, calling into question the entire social-economic and political structure of those times.

By its aims, determined by the strained domestic and foreign circumstances of the Romanian countries, by the impulse given and the prospects opened by it, the events of the 1821 year bear the significance of a dividing line between two epochs, the Revolution marking the starting point of Romania's modern hsitory.

For over a century the Phanariot régime [36] had strongly influenced the political life and social realities in the two countries, Moldavia and Wallachia. The very existence conditions of this régime, alien to the interests of the Romanian people, grounded on financial offers, on buying ascension to the throne from the Sultans by despoiling the taxpayers of their belongings, had repercussions on the material

[36] The Phanariot régime was imposed (1711—1821) upon Moldavia and (1714—1821) upon Wallachia by the Ottoman Empire following the political and diplomatic actions and the liberation struggles waged by the reputed Romanian princes Dimitrie Cantemir and Constantin Brâncoveanu. In order to avoid the danger of breaking all ties with the Empire, the Sultans interfered in the domestic affairs of these centuries by appointing as sovereigns, high Ottoman dignitaries, of rich Greek descent, who lived in the Phanar dwelling quarter of Istanbul.

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and economic resources of the Romanian principalities. The riches of the Romanian soil met full admiration with the foreign travellers through these territories, but its resources were poorly tapped as they were all snatched and served the interests of the Porte in burdensome conditions.

In spite of all difficulties, Romanian economy obviously developed at the beginning of the 19th century, all the previous mutations proving essentially the growth of the forces capable to throw down the existing régime. Under such circumstances, the revolution, broken out on January 23, 1821 in Oltenia, aimed at achieving — in keeping with its most important programme, titled "The Demands of the Romanian Nation" — a new social order, a bourgeois régime represented by a constitutional monarchy, with a ruling prince elected from the ranks of the Romanian nation. The new régime was to ensure the people's sovereignty, punishment of those who had proved guilty of offences against the people and offer security to personal wealth and the individual. The Programme stipulated also abolishment of class privileges and equality in front of the laws come out from the people's will.

The revolution had to be followed by the fulfilment of reforms regarding the administration, school, the taxpaying system and the army with a view to facilitating the organization of a unique national market and free exchanges, to defending the country against pillaging, foreign invasions, to granting high state dignities only to those people who have proved praiseworthy and valuable to the motherland, the motherland meaning, according to the revolutionaries, the Romanian people.

Finally, the Revolution also aimed at reconsidering Wallachia's foreign situation, namely by strengthening its autonomy, a very broad autonomy indeed, turned from a *de jure* stipulation into a *de facto* condition, when the gaining of full independence met insurmountable hardships. The Revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu broke out under favorable external circumstances. National revolutionary struggles were carried out all-through Europe. The ideological influence of the French Revolution was an omnipotent fact. The Holy Alliance was not able to check these struggles, and the Ottoman power was dreading, weathered as it was

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by domestic troubles and by the wars with the Austrian and Russian Empire — carried on in the Romanian countries in their greatest majority. The Romanian revolutionists realized that they had to face three hostile forces — the boyards' reaction at home, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia's negative stand. Wallachia was not able to engage, all alone, into a military conflict with the Porte without entering into close collaboration with the Czar, a quite perilous venture by its possible outcome. The sacrifices made by the Greek nation in its own revolution of 1821 stand proof of the reasons motivating the Romanian policies. Or, as long as the limited sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire could mean a real autonomy after the elimination of Phanariot rules, that way had to be preferred. This explains the fact that Tudor Vladimirescu, aiming, by his actions, at preventing the Ottoman troops from coming into Wallachia, tried to persuade the Porte that his struggle was of a limited anti-Phanariot scope.

The general development took an abrupt unfavourable turn in the spring of 1821. All European sovereigns had agreed to repudiate any revolutionary action. But, the territory of Moldavia and Wallachia was penetrated — in their way from Russia — by the forces of the Hetaeria, a component part of the Greek's movement of liberation from the domination of the Porte. The Hetaerists hoped to receive the assistance of the armies of Czar Alexander I. Failing to receive it, they did not pass, south of the Danube to head for Greece. The Ottoman Empire realized that the presence of the Hetaerists in the principalities might complicate its international situation and that an alteration of the former régime in Moldavia and Wallachia was of a nature to diminish its authority. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire retorted by suppressing by the force of arms the Hetaerist military formations, thwarting at the same time the fundamental social and national aspirations of the Romanians. Showing wrong judgement and understanding of the sufferings of the Romanian people and of what was happening in the Principalities, many European diplomats used to evaluate and present the facts as ephemeral disorders, justifying the repressive policy carried on by the Porte.

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But the questions raised, at the historical moment of 1821, as the imperative demands of the times, heralded the 1848 Revolution. 1821 meant the abolishment of the Phanariot rule, the restoration of native reigns and the crystallisation — by the influence over the Romanian population in Transylvania and the hopes of liberation by "Master Tudor" — of the community awareness of the Romanian people. The ideas of a "Great Dacia" and of "Daco-Romania" were the natural outcome of this awareness, asserted not only in the territories inhabitted by Romanians, but in international relations as well, and henceforward, any step concerning the Principalities question had to take into account the wish for emancipation and progress of the Romanian society.

GHEORGHE ISCRU
Doctor of History.

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47

1791, December 29/January 9, 1792, Jassy. Peace Treaty of Jassy concluded between Turkey and Russia.

In the name of God Almighty, Her Majesty, the Most Powerful Empress, Autocrat of All Russia and His Majesty the Sublime and Most Powerful Emperor of the Turks, in their sincere and mutual desire to restore peace, which had been disrupted by certain events, and to put an end to the war that has been waged up to now between their Empires and to settle on solid grounds peace, friendship and good understanding between them, have, subsequently considered it proper to entrust this useful and welcome work to the zeal and guidance of their high minister plenipotentiaries, as follows: for His Majesty the Emperor of the Turks, to His Most Illustrious Excellency the Hon. Iusuf-Pasha, Great Vizier of the Ottoman Porte and for His Imperial Majesty of Russia to His Most Illustrious Excellency, the Hon. Aleksandr, Count Bezborodko, the present Privy Counsellor and Knight at the orders of his Sovereign.

And for these peace negotiations to be happilly concluded by the trustworthy persons, duly mentioned above and vested with full authorities to make decisions, conclude, and sign the present peace convenant, there have been elected, appointed and vested with the above-mentioned full powers the follwing:

For the Ottoman Porte their Excellencies the Right Honourable Abdallah Birri, reis effendy or Foreign Secretary; Ibrahim Ismet-bei, ordan kadisi or High Justice of the Ottoman Army, Trustee of Stamboul and Mahomet Durri, effendi rusnamedzü or General Comptroller of the Finances; and for the Russian Empire their Excellencies the Right Honourable Aleksandr Samoilov, Lieutenant-General of Her Majesty the Czarine's Armies, Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty, Director of the Senate Chancellory, chief and Cavalier of various orders, Iosif Deribas, General-Major of the Armies, Admiral of the Racues Fleet, Cavalier of various Orders and Sergei Laskarov, State Counsellor and Cavalier, who have gathered in the city of Jassy to negotiate the lasting peace between the two Empires and have accepted and mutually concluded the following articles:

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Article I — Between His Majesty the Sultan and Her Majesty Empress of All Russia, their heirs and successors to the throne, and even between their Empires and subjects any hostilities and offences shall cease forever, from now on ; they shall be cast into total oblivion and in the future a solid and durable peace shall reign by sea and land. A steady friendship and lasting harmony shall be established and entertained by sincere, loyal and scrupulous observance of the provisions of the present treaty, so that each and every part shall not commit or try to commit, overtly or surreptitiously, an action or expedition whatsoever, against the other part.

Following the resumption of such sincere friendship relations, each of the two high contracting parts grants amnesty and full pardon to those subjects of theirs, without exception, who had proved guilty to one of the two parts, setting at liberty again from galleys or jails, and authorising all proscripts and exiles to come back home, warranting that after the conclusion of peace they shall fully enjoy the honour and properties they had boasted of before, without endurance of the least insult, damages or injury, but contrarywise, each of them, the same as all their fellow countrymen, shall safely live their life, defended and guarded by their own country's laws and traditional customs.

Article II — The Treaty of Peace, signed and dated on July 10th, 1774, or on the day of Zemazi-el Evel of the year of the Hegira 1188, the explanatory convention of the 20th day of Zemazi-el Akir 1193 or of March 10th, 1779, the trade convention of the 20th day of the month of Ridzel 1197 or of June 10th, 1783, or the Act of Integration of Crimea and the Taman Island to the Russian Empire, which settles the borderline on the river Cuban and which was concluded on the 15th day of the month of Safer 1193 or on December 28th, 1783, are reconfirmed by the present Peace Convenant, with its completely newly drawn articles, exception being made of those which are subject to alteration by the present treaty or which shall be altered by the preceding ones, the high contracting parties pledge to observe them to the letter, not to trespass them and to fulfil them in good faith and strict manner.

Article III — In keeping with Article 2 of the preliminaries specifiyng that the Dniester shall always serve as limit to the two Empires, that the frontiers of the Russian Empire shall go as far as the above-mentioned river in the future, the high contracting parties have mutually agreed and stipulated by the present treaty that the Dniester shall form the dividing line between the Sublime Porte and the Russian Empire so that the entire territory lying on the right bank of the Dniester shall be restored to the Sublime Porte and shall forever remain under its absolute and indisputable authority ; contrarywise, all the territory on the left bank of the same river shall remain under the absolute and indisputable authority of the Russian Empire.

Article IV — Following the above-mentioned special disposition, referring to the dividing line between the two Empires and following Article 4 of the Preliminaries by which it was mutually agreed that all the other frontiers shall stay unchanged as they had been at the beginning of the present war that all the territories conquered by the troops of the Russian Empire shall be restored to the Sublime Porte with all the existing fortresses and in the way they are now, Her Imperial Majesty restores to the Sublime Porte Bessarabia, conquered by the Russian armies with the fortified cities of Bender,

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Akerman, Chilia and Ismail, as well as the towns and villages located in that province. Besides, Her Imperial Majesty restores the province of Moldavia with the cities, villages and everything within its borders, and the Sublime Porte receives it on the following conditions, which it pledges to strictly observe, point by point :

1. To respect and faithfully fulfil, to the greatest benefit of the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, the clauses stipulated under the peace treaty concluded in the year of the Hegira 1188 on the 14th day of the Zemazi-el Evel month, or on July 10th, 1774 and then in the explanatory convention concluded on the 20th day of the month of Zemi-el Akir 1193 or March 10th, 1779 and in the Act of the 15th day of the same month Safer or December 28th, 1783, negotiated by the Great Vizier in the name and on behalf of the Sublime Porte.

2. Not to request from or impose upon the population of those province to pay debts or arrears whatsoever.

3. Not to claim from these principalities any contribution to or payment of war reparations, but, on the contrary, taking into account the great losses and the pillages to which these peoples had been exposed to, owing the hostilities, they shall be extempted of any taxes and duties for two years from the day the instruments of ratification of the present treaty are exchanged.

4. To allow the families wishing to leave their homeland and settle some where else to go away unhindered with all their belongings so that these families have time enough to let their kin and in laws know — subjects of the Ottoman Empire of their decision, to let them sell their movable goods and real estates to the subjects of the said Empire, in keeping with the country's laws, finally, to set in order their affairs. They are granted for this free-willing expatriation a term of fourteen months since the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of the present treaty.

Article V — Proof of the sincere feelings prompting the high contracting parts to restore not only at the present moment, but to lastingly consolidate future peace and harmony, eliminating any source or pretext, however unimportant it might be, for differences and dissension, the Sublime Porte pledges, by renewing the already sent firman, to convey to the chief commander of the frontiers, Pasha Ahaltzik or Achiska, instructions forbidding him, in the most severe terms, to harras or ill-use, openly or surreptitiously under any pretext whatsoever, the territories and the subjects of the Czar from Tiflis or Kartalinia, with formal order addressed to him not to disturb the good-understanding and the good-neighbourly relations.

Article VI — The second article of the present treaty, confirming by the conventions previous to the act of December 28th, 1783 referring to the annexation to the Russian Empire of Crimea and the Taman Island, as well as to the establishment of the river Cuban as frontierline between these provinces and between the two Empires, the Sublime Porte solemnly pledges accordingly — as a token of the loyality with which it is willing to eliminate from this very moment anything that might be prejudicial to peace, quiet and harmony between the two Empires — to make use of its full authority and of all its means to the effect of maintaining order and authority over the population on the left bank of the Cuban river, so that they should refrain from any incursion on the Russian territory and from com-

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mitting, openly or surreptitiously, under any pretext whatsoever, pillages, robberies or damages or otherwise against the Russian subjects, their houses, territories and inhabitants. And for these peoples not to enslave people any more, the Sublime Porte shall address them the most formal orders and severely forbidding them to perpetrate such deeds and menacing them with the most rigorous punishments ; besides, after the exchange of the instruments of ratification of the present treaty, the Sublime Porte shall make the said interdicton public to various boroughs.

But, presuming that even after the agreements stipulated under the present treaty and after the interdiction given to these peoples, there will still be in their ranks individuals who would dare to make inroads into the Russian territory, commit pillages, rob cattle or otherwise, or enslave Russian subjects, then and as soon as a complaint would be submitted the lawful authorities shall be notified thereof without delay and the robbed or stolen objects shall be returned to their owners. No hindrance whatsoever shall be caused to setting free the Russian subjects who have been carried off and to their reinstating as well as to investigations opened to this aim ; besides, the possible expenses occured in such event shall be refunded and the authors of such bold incursions shall be severely punished in the presence of the Russian commissary appointed to this aim by the chief frontierguard. Whether, in spite of any expectation, satisfaction to claim is not made within six months from the date it had been advanced, the Sublime Porte pledges, to fully refund, within one month from the date the Russian minister has laid the claim, any useless expenses, any expenses caused by the authors of the said incursions and this means naturally that the above-mentioned penalities shall be applicable immediately and without any dealy whatsoever.

Article VII — Trade being the real and lasting foundation of mutual understanding, the Sublime Porte — on the occasion of resuming peace and friendship with the Russian Empire, and willing to warrant its sincere wish to establish as well as possible sure and profitable trade relations between the subjects of the two Empires, agrees to maintain and fully carry out to that aim Article VI of the Trade Treaty with Russia concerning the corsairs of Algeries, Tunis and Tripoli, specifically stipulating that if a Russian subject would ever fall into the hands of the corsairs of Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli, or be captured by them or if the pirates bring in a vessel or some goods whatever the latter might be called, belonging to Russian merchants, the Porte pledges then to make good use of its authority with the abovementioned states to gain the liberation of the Russian subjects who had been enslaved in this way, to cause restoration of the ship, the goods and belongings taken or plundered in this way and determine them to pay reparations to those concerned for any losses or damages caused by such chieftains. In case they will positively know, from some reports, that these firmans have not been carried out by the above-mentioned regencies of Algeries, Tunis or Tripoli, the Sublime Porte pledges to refund — upon the claim of the Imperial Minister of Russia — from the Imperial Treasury and losses and damages within two months, or rather, if it is possible starting with the very day the claim was signed.

Article VIII — Any prisoners of war and other slaves from the two Empires, men or women, irrespective of race or social standing, excepting

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those people in the Ottoman Empire who had freely consented to give up the Christian faith and have taken up the Mahometan religion, shall be sent free on both sides, as soon as the instruments of ratification of these treaty are exchanged, without any pretext, compensation or redemption whatsoever.

In the same way, all the other enslaved Christians whoever they might be, without exception — be they Poles, Moldavians, Wallachians inhabitants of the Peloponnesus and of the islands, Georgians or others, shall be set free without compensation or redemption whatsoever. Besides, all the Russian subjects who, after the conclusion of this blissful peace, would be again enslaved in whatever circumstance and they would be by then in the Ottoman Empire, shall be set free in the same way, and Russia pledges to treat, in full equality and reciprocity, the Porte and its subjects.

Article IX — With a view to avoiding — after the truce or following some misunderstandings — such hostile acts to be perpetrated during the negotiations which have successfully been concluded, immediately upon the signature of the present Peace Treaty, the Great Vizier of the Ottoman Porte shall notify and make known to the Ottoman armies and fleets, and the First Plenipotentiary Minister and member in office of the Privy Council of Her Majesty the Empress of Russia as well as the Commander in Chief of the Russian armies and fleets shall do the same, to inform that peace and good-understanding have been fully restored.

Article XI — After the conclusion of the Peace Treaty between the two Empires and the exchange of the instruments of ratification between the two Sovereigns, the Imperial Russian troops and fleet stationed at Racues shall proceed to withdrawing from the Ottoman Empire. But, as owing to the hard weather conditions, it is necessary to delay such withdrawal, the two contracting parties have mutually agreed and established as last term the day of May 15th after the Julian calendar, of the year 1792, which shall be the starting point of the withdrawal. On that day, all the troops of Her Majesty the Czarine shall withdraw along the left bank of the Dniester and the entire fleet stationed at Racues shall leave the mouths of the Danube for good. As long as the Russian troops shall stay in the conquered fortresses and territories, which, under the present treaty are to be restored to the Ottoman Porte, the administration and the state of affairs shall be left unchanged, the way they used to be during the Russian occupation, and the Ottoman Porte shall have no right to intervene in any form or way before the complete withdrawal of the troops. Up to the last day of the withdrawal from those territories, the Russian troops shall have to be supplied with food and anything they might need to meet their requirements the same way they have been supplied until now.

Article XII — After signature of the present Articles of Peace by the respective ministers plenipotentiaries gathered in Jassy, the Great Vizier, in the name of the Sublime Porte and the Privy Councellor in office and the First Minister of All Russia, shall exchange, within fifteen days or sooner if possible, through the intermediate of the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries, the copies of the documents, by virtue of which this blissful and welcome pacification will come into force and be fully valid.

Article XIII — The present Treaty of Perpetual Peace, blissfully concluded, shall be confirmed on behalf of His Majesty the Sultan and on behalf

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of Her Majesty the Empress of All Russia through the intermediate of some solemn instruments of ratification signed by their own hands, and these instruments of ratification shall be exchanged within a term of five weeks or sooner if possible, from the date of the said treaty, between the ministers plenipotentiary who have concluded this treaty. The copies signed and bearing the seal with their coat of arms have been exchanged between the respective ministers plenipotentiary.

Drawn up at Jassy, on the 29th day of December 1791, after the Julian calendar (January 9th, 1792 after the Georgian calendar) or on the 15th day of the Zemazi-el Evel month in the year of the Hegira 1206.

(l.s.) Alexandr Samoilov
Sergei Laskarov
Iosif Deribas

By uninterrupted attacks against the Ottoman Empire and its vassals — the Tartar Khanates — Russia succeeds in driving away the domination of the Porte from the territories lying North of the Black Sea, and in reaching as far as the Moldavian border.
The present treaty, confirms the preceding treaties and warrants the freedom of the Russian trade on the waters of the Ottoman Empire. Article III and IV establish the borderlines between the two Empires and re-assert the observance of the stipulations favouring the Romanian Principalities, under the 1774 treaty, 1779 agreement and 1783 act. The Porte pledged: to observe the privileges of Moldavia and Wallachia, not to claim from the Principalities any contribution for the duration of hostilities; to exempt them of taxes for a term of two years and, grant to the inhabitants the right to feel free and emigrate wherever they wished within 14 months.

Dimitrie A. Sturdza and C. Colescu-Vartic, *Acte şi documente relative la istoria renaşterii României* (Acts and Documents Concerning the History of Romania's Revival), vol. I, Bucharest, 1900 pp. 219—225. French original.

48

1792, Kanunname. Fragment concerning the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia.

...The observance of the regulations (*Nizam*) of the two countries and their revival, as well as the peace and welfare of their inhabitants depending solely upon the maintenance and persistance of their voivodes, shall not permit their unjustified dethronement, as long as, a voivode is obviously acting within his prerogatives, is right and moderate, and the officials of the High Porte shall respect his lasting reign.

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As the voivodes are asked to take good care of the gradual progress of Wallachia and Moldavia, which are like a "cellar" [37] of the Grand Empire, as well as to fulfill a great many imperial services, by setting up manufactories, weaving cloth or other textiles — "Kerhanes" [38], which shall subsequently prove highly profitable to the Empire [39], and as they are also asked to grow the wealth of sweetmeats necessary for the welfare of Allah's subjects, by improving agriculture and increasing the number of cattle, any carelessness or indifference shown to this matter shall therefore be considered serious offences, and they shall be obliged to rigorously make efforts so that the afore-mentioned works should bear fruit as soon as possible.

As Wallachia and Moldavia have always been, since by-gone times up to the present day, free from all points of view, by separation of chancelleries (*mefruz el-kalem*) and by denial of their entrenchment, all taxes and rents are to be levied by the voivodes. Therefore the illustrious edicts handed over to envoys on duty or lessees shall specify the fact that these countries, taking into account their separation of *kalem* (chancellories) are making exception and, in the two countries, there shall not be collected any taxes or fines due at this very moment within the borders of the Empire, as well as the taxes, imposts or rents which might be established from now on.

If envoys sent on duty are given in some way or another orders contrary to the present one, they shall be considered null and void, as against the letter of the "Book of Laws".

The existence of various connections in the country causing the information of those who apply for the rule and the dissemination of all sort of ungrounded intelligence, by stirring the trouble-makers, those people who obtain the title of voivode shall not be allowed to possess estates any more in those country from now on.

If, from now on, any of such people possess estates — small or great — in Wallachia or Moldavia, they shall be obliged to break any connection they have there, by selling within a year for good, their properties to genuine inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, through the intermediate of the voivodes.

Although the yearly incomes of Wallachia and Moldavia have been self-sufficient and ample enough to satisfy the private expenses of the voivodes, they got used to levy and gather great wealth. Therefore, besides the customary *rikabie* [40] *îidye* [41] and fixed *gizie* [42], they have also appropriated as their own money, the funds settled for *mirie* (the Ottoman state), under the form of a new income (irad-i-cedid), and they should make all payments from personal savings and by cutting their private expenses and extravagances, without resorting to oppression or persecution of the rajahs by overburdening them with separate duties. Hence, all the duties and taxes, small or big, as well as any other obligations whatsoever, which used to be levied

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[37] Kiler — Kilor — storeroom, pantry.
[38] Karhane (pronounced kjarhane) — workshop, mill.
[39] Nemalik-i Mahruse — "The well-guarded countries", i.e. the Ottoman Empire.
[40] *Rikabiye* — duty paid for the upkeep of the Sultan's suite.
[41] *Îidiye* (bayramlîk) — tax payed on Bairam, a Muslim holiday.
[42] Djizyie — tax.

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from the two countries before the war, shall stay from now on, at the free-will and disposal of the voivodes as they used to be up to now. If, proof is made of their daring to persecute and oppress the rajahs by overburdening them with extra duties, they shall be punished without delay. But, as it was shown above, payment of this new income depending on its collection in the country, as it was customarily done with taxes and imposts levied by voivodes in the past years, it is to be assumed that the pretenders to throne, having no knowledge of the new income, might think of the banishment of voivodes by disseminating false news, allegedly stating that "the voivodes have levied greater quantities from the country than in the past".

Therefore, if such rumours are circulated, they shall not be taken for granted on the spot, and undercover investigation and secret searching inquiries shall be made, and such hints shall not be given ear to and shall not be taken into account until proof is duly provided that the voivodes had levied greater taxes than in the past years.

The conditions listed above being considered from now on as "New Law" (*Kamun-i cedid*), and in order to ensure their strict observance, and to prevent anybody from tresspassing them, they shall be registered to the letter at the Imperial Chancellory, and the new edicts which are to be circulated and made public, have to be issued by special high orders, provided with *hatt-i-humaiun* and be sent to the viziers and chieftains (*zabitan*) around the two countries to be registered in the judiciary seals.

Likewise, as a copy thereof is deposited at the Imperial Divan and the General Accountant Office (*Başmuhasebe*), as well as at the Ceremony Chancellory (*Teşrifat Kalemi*), all efforts possible shall be made, for its steadfast and strict observance.

The 1787—1792 war, launched by Russia and Austria against the Ottoman Empire, with a view to distributing among themselves the latter's possessions, took a different turn and had a different outcome than that anticipated by the allies. Due to the strong revolutionary wave sweaping Europe all-through under the influence of the French revolution, Austria and Russia were compelled to conclude the "blank peaces" of Shistov (1791) and, respectively, Jassy (1792). Nevertheless, this war and the struggle for national emancipation waged by the Romanians shattered the principles of Ottoman domination in the Romanian countries. The Porte was obliged to accept the ever greater broadening of Moldavia and Wallachia's internal autonomy, by a gradual return to warranting the initial privileges.

This collection of laws was secret, issued for the usage of the Porte and of its officials, wherefrom its curious name of *Kanunname* (Collection of Old Laws), singular among the Osman-Turkish documents regarding the Romanian countries. Besides reinforcement of some previous rules, this "collection" contains new dispositions and instructions meant to usher in a new stage in the evolution of Romanian-Turkish relations.

Topkapî, Sarayî Müzesi Arşivi, Evrak 6282, Turkish original.

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1802, September 19—28 (1217 cemazi I, evahir). The hattisherif issued by Sultan Selim II, renewing the old privileges granted to Wallachia, and adding several new ones; clauses referring to Moldavia are also included.

Order given to the Voivode of Wallachia, Voivode Constantin Ipsilanti. may he have a blissful end [43].

By the time when the enmity and hostility between the High-Devlet (The Ottoman Empire) and the Austrian Empire have turned into peace and friendship, but of compassion and for pity's sake for the condition of the rajahs [44] Wallachia, who had endured vexations and hardships during the war, there is issued and granted, by the middle of the month of the most Venerated Muharrem of the year 1206 [45], my illustrious, goodwill-bearing order, to the effect that they be exempted for two years of *gizie* and of *îydye* and of *rîkabiye*, as well as of *giaze* (caize) [46] reckoned from the third day of the Zu'lhijjah of the year /1/205 [47].

But thereafter, the memorandum (*mahzar*) [written] in Greek and Turkish, which arrived from the Metropolitan of Wallachia, the bishops and fathers superior, and from all the monks and priests of monasteries and churches, as well as from the boyards and captains and all other official clerks (*zabitan*), reading that, owing to troubles and hardships, and to occupation since a couple of years now, their greatest majority have left their homeland and homes, the country has been brought into ruins and, they have decayed into a miserable life, and mention being made of their total submittance to my high imperial person and of their obeyance, they asked and begged me to renew the high order previously granted, on the grounds of my goodwill and good care for them, containing the regulations (*nizam*) of the country as well as well as numerous clauses.

Therefore, the Book of Orders from the archives (*ahkâm kuyudatî*) of my Imperial Divan has been searched and it was written there down and registered that the rajahs of Wallachia and Moldavia, which are a genuine cellar (*kiler*) of my High Empire, had payed the gizie according to necessities, no money or otherwise should be levied from them for old calculations, and in case of dispute between the Muslims and the rajahs or between the rajahs themselves, the Voivode of Wallachia, should justly and equitably hear both the claimants and defendants and re-install them in their well-proven rights. Likewise, settlement of disputes between Muslims and the rajahs shall be done and supervised by the Divan secretary [48] standing by the Wallachian Voi-

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[43] He was banished from the throne by the Ottoman Porte in 1806 owing to his philo-Russian attitude; he came back to Bucharest, for a short time, accompanying the Czar's armies.

[44] Re'aya (rajah) — Non-Muslim subjects, inhabitants; tax-payers collectively.

[45] Evasit Muhharem 1206 — September 10—19, 1791.

[46] Cizye (gizie or harach) — capitation, tribute; *îydiye* — gifts for Bayram (Bayramlîk); *rîkabiye* — gifts to the Sultan; giaze — gift to the superiors on their appointments to office (see also Note no. 40, 41 and 42, p. 147).

[47] 3 Zi'lhijjah (Zilhidje 1205) — August 3, 1791.

[48] *Divan kâtibi* (divan efendisi) — secretary *(katib)* of a council (divan) in the Romanian countries he was standing by the voivode and had the following prerogatives: to read (and

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vode, as well as the disputes among the other Muslims, and he shall try to conciliate them and adjust the difference ; but if they cannot be settled by mediation and by the Muslim's intervention, and it would come out that the ill-meaning litigants were deliberately set upon harming and disturbing the poor rajahs by ungrounded trials, moreover, when their settlement and termination turns into mere formality, then, and in case of such ungrounded disputes violating the Sheriat [49], for the poor rajahs not to be insulted and harmed, the said differences shall be tried and settled before the Cadi of Giurgiu (*Yerköküi*), in keeping with the Sheriat, fairly and rightfully. Similarly, the cadis of Giurgiu, in their turn, when settling and terminating, with greatest fairness and equity the trials, entrusted to them, shall keep out and provide against allowing facts violationg the Pure Sheriat, and avoid victimizing, under such pretext, the poor rajahs. In like manner, the rajahs of Wallachia shall not be disturbed with summons to appear in some other places, and at the trials concerning wills (*vasiyet*) and disposition of property, by passing the illustrious religious sentence (*fetva*) that evidence given by Christian subjects (*zimmî*) for the Muslims is valid, legal proceedings shall be carried out in keeping with the demands of the brilliant *fetva*.

Moreover, those who prove guilty within the territory of Wallachia shall be sent to the nearest border garrisons (*serhad*) to be punished, irrespective of their belonging to the military category or to other standings.

In the same way, some of the inhabitants of the bordering *kazas* [50] and on the Danube transgressing the precious regulations, penetrated illegally the Wallachian territory, and fabricating disputes among them, they killed one another, and then claiming the price of blood and proceeding to mendacious trials, they claimed goods and money, and, annoyed in this way, and harmed the rajahs of Wallachia. Therefore, in keeping with the *nizam* issued before, there were given high orders on pulling down the *kîşlaks* [51] previously set up in Wallachia, and the ruining of estates (*moşiya*) and that the villains and tramps should be driven away and removed. Nevertheless, as such villains and tramps think of penetrating into Wallachia, there were written in the past, high orders, to the effect that, excepting a certain number of tradesmen from each *serhat*, nobody would be allowed to enter into Wallachia, and the tradesman in their turn, should obtain documents given by their chieftain proving their right to access (*tezkere*) and by presenting them to the Voivode of Wallachia or to his Deputy (*vekil*), they should take from the voivode or his deputy a new passport, and when crossing the *kazas* they should not take hold of *menzils* [52] or dwellings, they should not go on farming or persecute the rajahs. Moreover, they are not allowed to give earnest money and bind bargains.

All these questions, included in the *nizam*, had also been recorded in the high orders issued in the past ; the respective articles are still in force and they shall be fulfilled to the letter.

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translate) the orders inssued by the Porte ; to draw up the letters addressed to the Porte and to mediate disputes between the inhabitants and the Muslims.

[49] Seri-at — Islamic legislation, considered of divine origin.

[50] *Kaza* — Ottoman administrative unit, under the jurisdiction of a *kadî* (judge).

[51] *Kişlak* — winter shelter ; winter military camp ; any constructions sheltering cattle in winter.

[52] *Menzil* — halting place ; post office ; house.

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Likewise, for the ungrounded trials, of the above-mentioned nature, the Viziers and the chieftains or the judges, shall no longer allow the generation of damages to the poor rajahs, by appointing agents (*mubaşir*) in Wallachia.

In like manner, the lands and estates called *re'aya* (rajah) belonging of old to their (the Romanians') monasteries or to other people and of which they had been unlawfully dispossessed, their cases shall be carefully and rightfully investigated and if proof is provided that they were unlawfully occupied, they shall be restored to their owners.

Similarly, to make the conveyance of goods easier and more useful, from their country to some other places, or from somewhere else to their country, then, if they need to renew or maintain their gangways from Oraş and Floci [53] — the Wallachians shall be permitted to reconstruct them, but without no prejudice whatsoever to my high empire by changing its appearance. The members of the traders guild are not permitted to own properties or *çiftiliks* [54] in Wallachia and graze their cattle there.

Similarly, my Viziers and my glorious beylerbeys (*mîr-i-miram*), when going to their offices or where coming back, are not permitted to go out of the right way, enter Wallachia and take from the rajahs fodder or victuals, coach horses without payment, or to bother the poor Wallachians with all kind of requests. Therefore, the Viziers and the beylerbeys and their retinues should not divert from their way and go through Wallachia and ask for a greater number of horses than mentioned in the halting-place orders carried by them.

In like manner, those sent on duty in the respective country shall not annoy anybody by asking for a greater number of horses than provided for in their halting-place orders.

Therefore, from now on, and without delay the stipulations of the said clauses shall be fully implemented and observed to the letter, even if there are still people who dare to violate the high order, and efforts shall be made to their immediate punishment.

Similarly, when the rajahs of Wallachia cross the boroughs, and villages, the fairs (*bazar*) on the banks on the Danube to settle their affairs or to gain some money or profits they shall not be persecuted by the *giziedars* [55] of those places or by other chieftains, by being asked to pay capitations and *ispenge* [56] or under no pretext whatsoever, and the men and their *colgis* [57] are forbidden to roam through Wallachia on the pretence of "looking for foreign rajahs".

As numerous orders have been issued on these matters, those concerned shall be given high orders, and people of this description, as mentioned above, shall be scared and menaced.

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[53] It seems that reference is made of Tîrgul de Floci, an important trading centre, in eastern Wallachia, where the river Ialomiţa into the Danube.
[54] *Ciftlik* — landed estate.
[55] *Cizyedar* (giziedar) — Ottoman official authorized to levy the capitation in the territories under direct Turkish administration.
[56] *Ispence* (ispenge) — a "fifty" payed at the beginning for the slaves taken from alien territories. turned later into a fix polltax.
[57] *Kolci* (colgi) — bodyguards, patriots ; pursuer.

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Moreover, in keeping with the stipulations of the imunities (*muafyet*) and of the country's freedoms (*serbestiyet*), nobody shall trouble or annoy them with questions related to the appearance and clothing of the country's inhabitants and rajahs. [58]

Likewise, in order to clear up the question regarding the rajahs of Wallachia who adhered to the Islamic faith and which would not be able to require their part of heritage, this being allegedly an issue concerning the Seriat, there were issued four high religious sentencees (*fetva*), stipulating :

— If a Christian dies, after having honoured himself with converting into the Islamic faith, his father, who remained a Christian cannot inherit anything from him ;

— If the wife of a Christian dies as a Christian, after her husband had converted to the Islamic faith, he cannot inherit anything from her.

— If the father of a Christian son dies, after his son has honoured himself with converting to the Islamic faith, then, the son cannot inherit his father.

— If the Christian slave of a Muslim dies after having been liberated, but he dies without having become a Muslim, then the said Muslim cannot inherit him.

Therefore, matters shall be settled according to these stipulations.

Moreover, as it has been found out that the buying of a certain number of sheep through the intermediate of *saigis* [59] or of the men of the *casapbaşis* [60], for which a yearly special firman issued in Wallachia permitting the acquisition of sheep through the intermediate of *casapbaşis*, is of a nature to lead to the persecution and oppression of the rajahs, therefore, out of pity for the poor, the buying of sheep in like manner was forbidden. Only that it is necessary and most important to bring sheep from my well-guarded countries (*memâlik-i-mahruse*), for the sustenance of the state (*mirî*) and the supply of the inhabitants from the Porte of my High Empire ; therefore, the rajahs of Wallachia should not hide the sheep they have for sale, but sell them to tradesmen, at the current price, and, under supervision of the Voivode of Wallachia, care shall be taken to prevent shortage of sheep which must be sent in plentiful numbers to my High Porte. Similarly, by giving their sheep to the tradesmen and *gelepis* [61], who bring sheep to the High Porte, they should not sell them somewhere else.

Moreover, Wallachia being like a cellar (*killer*) of the blissful Porte, and as the great quantity of supplies necessary for Istanbul is coming from Wallachia and Moldavia, therefore in exchange of the *mukayese* [62], which has been previously annulled, the rajahs of Wallachia shall send in turn their harvests to the gangways and sell them at the price of the day to

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[58] Within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, strictly speaking (in their case south of the Danube) there were some regulations in force concerning the clothing and public behaviour of non-Muslims.

[59] *Sayci* (saigi) — the man counting sheep and cattle for taxation ; official buyer of sheep, cattle, etc.

[60] *Kasap-başi* (kasapbaşa) — the head of the butchers' guild, who has the duty to ensure the supply of the Ottoman capital with meat.

[61] *Celep* (gelep) — authorized sheep and cattle dealer.

[62] *Mukayese* — comparison, proportion ; term used before 1774, which designated the supplies the Romanian countries were obliged to sell to the Ottoman Porte.

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the captains (*reis*) of the *capan* [63] ships and shall not give them somewhere else. In like manner, on the pretence of "the mucayese being annulled", they should not give up agriculture and hide the supplies underground, thinking that they might get higher profits.

In this way, they would derive some advantages and, on the other hand the inhabitants of my Blissful Porte would have no difficulty in having their sustenance assured. The Voivode of Wallachia and the boyars shall make steady efforts in this matter.

Likewise, all boyars or rajahs in Wallachia and Moldavia having been pardoned for offences during the war, it wouldn't occur to somebody to catch and punish them for their old deeds, and if, from now on they will keep being submissive and obedient, and shall observe their dues to the tributaries (*ciziye-güzâr*) and would not turn from the path of duty and submission, they might rest assured that they will know nothing else than goodwill and benevolence.

Similarly, efforts should be made for the observance of the long-bearing high orders issued later again, in keeping with the high orders issued in the year seventy seven [64], for the settlement of the differences arisen before between the Commander (*nazîr*) of Silistra and the Voivode of Wallachia, concerning the borderline on the Great Danube (*Ana-Tuna*).

Likewise, the question of the election of boyards and of Greeks (*Rum*) to offices in Wallachia and Moldavia and the appointment to jobs of some trustworthy people, capable of running the country's affairs, being given in the charge of the Voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia to be decided upon according their will and as they choose to, the native boyars, who are more entitled should therefore be preferred for the jobs which had formerly been given to the boyars from the respective countries. Likewise, the question of using, if need may be, the most devoted and skilled people, either Greek or native (*yerlii*), shall be left in charge of the Voivodes.

Similarly, various kinds of timber necessary for the constructions in the citadels in Rumelia, being felled and conveyed like in the past from the Wallachian and Moldavian mountains, the payment due for felling and transportation, in keeping the sealed certificates (*temessük*) issued by building bailiffs shall be made in full from the money levied as taxes in Wallachia and Moldavia, left in charge of their Voivodes, and the least coin shall not be retained.

From now on, both in summer and in winter time it is forbidden to take to pasture in Wallachia the cattle from the *ciftlic* of Mangalia, which is under the authority of the craftsmen (*usta*) of Mangalia.

Likewise, as the insurance of the poor subjects against damage and losses is concerned, by the middle of the month of Şevval of the year 1188 [65], a high glory-bearing order was issued for each of the two countries, adorned with a *hatt-i-hümayün* [66] on top. Then, the rajahs of the two mentioned countries have shown no sign of disobedience to the submission conditions, which form their duties. Therefore, in keeping with the demands of my high

[63] *Kapan* — great scales; wholesale stores; wholesale dealer.
[64] 1177 h. = July 12, 1763 / June 30, 1764.
[65] *Evasit Sevval* (Shawwai) 1188 — December 15—24, 1774.
[66] *Hatt-i hümayün* — Imperial writing; resolution written by the Sultan's own hand.

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Imperial Grace, which became clear as they are concerned, the following stipulations are added, as protecting clauses, on condition they shall never distract from their duties in matters of loyal attachment and obedience ; by being submissive and obedient to their voivodes, they should make efforts and strive hard to fulfil my important imperial offices and should refrain from committing the least offense.

Hence, from now on, no more than 619 purses and no more than 135 purses of small coins and 444 1/2 thalers from Moldavia shall be levied at the end of each year, and the tribute of the two countries shall be sent to My Blissful Porte and no *havale* [67] shall be demanded. Likewise, as 90,000 thalers — in cash and kind, for the *îydiye* and 40,000 thalers for *rîkabiye*, are levied from Wallachia, and 90,000 thalers — in cash and in kind — for *îydiye* and 25,000 thalers for *rîkabiye* [68] are levied from Moldavia, *ibkaiye* [69] shall not be collected from princes (*bey*), and they shall not be dethroned until their guilt is not proven. Similarly, the newly appointed princes shall not be asked to pay greater *giazes* or *avaids* [70] than they used to pay in the past, and these taxes, in their turn shall not be levied from the rajahs, but be given from the princes' private incomes, as for instance the salt tax, lease tax (*mukataat*) and customs taxes or from other incomes deriving from taxes, similar to the above-mentioned ones and depending upon the princes.

At the same time, My High Majesty will not allow the pashas and the cadis, as well as the other chieftains in the neighbourhood of those two countries ask for payment of the *hass* [71] or for *avaids*, which produce only losses to the rajahs, or send there commissaries (*mübaşir*) for collecting gifts (*hediye*) or money.

Likewise, any time dethronements, banishments or appointmens to offices take place in my Empire, the princes shall not have to pay any *giaize* or *avaid*. Therefore, upon my high imperial order, the grains and other supplies (*zahire*) taken from the two said countries, shall be collected in such quantities which would not embarass the inhabitants of the two countries, and when these supplies are bought from the state (*mirî*), the payment shall be done in cash and their conveyance shall not be left in charge of the inhabitants ; when they are bought by tradesmen, their price shall be paid in cash, in keeping with the current prices in the country.

At the same time, as it was previously announced that the acquisition of sheep in the two countries — through the intermediate of *saigis* and of the men of the *casaphaşi* [72] sent to buy sheep from the two countries — caused the oppression of the rajah, this kind of buying sheep was annulled. But

[67] *Havale* — financial (economic) obligation transferred to somebody ; economic-financial duties imposed upon the Romanian countries related to the amount of tribute they had to pay to the Porte.
[68] See Note 45.
[69] *Ibkaiye* — figt or fee offered to their superiors on reconfirmitation into one's office ; 18th century Romanian princes had been compelled to offer such gifts, also called *mukarrer* at the end of their reigning term (usually three years).
[70] *Avaid* (aidat) — incomes, profits, revenues from some offices and jobs in the Ottoman state ; for *giaize* see Note 45.
[71] *Hass* — fee, ensuring an annual income of over (100,000 aspr (Turkish coin of the smallest value).
[72] *See* Notes 58 and 59.

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as it is necessary to bring from my well-guarded countries, for the sustenance of the state and for the inhabitants of Istanbul, the rajahs of the two countries have to sell, at current prices, the sheep they have for sale to the tradesmen and cattledealers, and shall not fail to send plenty of sheep at My Blissful Porte, under the supervision of their voivodes. These questions, being included in the two illustrious orders, mentioned before, they shall do their utmost to meet their requirements.

Likewise, another firman was issued to the effect that when timber or other building materials had to be taken from the two countries, the voivodes would be first announced about the necessary quantities and only then might the timber be transported to the country's borders, and all the sums of money due for felling and transportation shall be paid in cash to the poor rajahs by the authorized agent (*mubaşir*), in charge with their delivery. At the same time the inhabitants shall not be compelled to convey the timber and the building materials to localities beyond their country's borders.

When the inhabitants are asked to provide waggons, then no money shall be withhold from customary payments which shall be made without delay.

Likewise, besides the *fermanlî* [73] dealers, no other person from among the inhabitants of the neighbouring places or from among the *yamaks* [74] is allowed to go into the two countries meaning ill or trying to cause losses to them, or roam about, or take hold of the lands belonging to the inhabitants of the two countries, or to drive their cattle to pasture there, and those who dare to violate the present regulations (*nizam*) shall be severely punished.

Similarly, when there still are some occupied lands, after the conclusion of peace, they shall be returned to the inhabitants, who are their lawful owners. In the same way, as long as some important affair would not require it, no *mubaşirs* shall be sent by My High Majesty, and when they are sent, they shall not claim for their mubaşir tax (*mubaşiriyye*) from the rajahs, and their stay there shall not be delayed, on any pretence, or alleged excuse.

It is my order that these clauses should be well kept by their own hands, in order to be observed to the letter together with the stipulations of their former *nizam*, and if need may arise, archive records shall be searched. Likewise, it had been ordered that each article — as mentioned and explained before — be duly implemented, and those who transgress the law, should have their names written down and be submitted to the good-knowledge of my Benevolant Porte, in order to punish them as they deserve. Similarly, another firman had been issued for the boyars, who loyaly serve my High Majesty and who submit to and obey their Voivodes, to have their ranks maintained and their basic offices they had got before the war, as well as their lands, called "moşii".

Therefore, it is necessary, to the benefit and progress of the country, that the above-mentioned articles be valid forever. Likewise, efforts should be made and care taken for the upkeep of the lands destined to the sustenance and prosperity of the boyars, and according to the country's old tradition,

[73] *Termanlî tüccar* — Ottoman tradesman authorized by the Sultan.
[74] *Yamak* — a soldier in the Ottoman auxiliary troops, who, in exchange of a ground rent, was obliged to stand guard over the respective locality and region.

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in exchange of all advantages and ranks they deserve, they [the boyars] shall not lose a moment in, and shall not be neglectful of, fulfilling the requirements of full submission and obeyance, which are binding upon all, and they shall agree with the voivode's orders and opinions.

Under these circumstances, efforts should be made for and attention paid to their protection, defence and use [of the boyars], as well as to their reaching, by privileges granted (*imtiyazat*), conditions of progress and welfare, with all heed for those services they can perform to the benefit of the country and its prosperity.

Therefore, if — unlike the country's old traditions — the above-mentioned boyars would required undue taxes, as they have been doing for some time now, and when advised to give up and refrain from requesting inappropriate duties and taxes — which the country's rajahs cannot afford — owing particularly to the ruin brought about by the war — they would fail to do so, and against the permission, they would produce losses to the poor rajahs and would insult them, and if — by prying into other people's affairs and by inadequate requests of fees, beyond the limit they are due — there are still people who would dare to perpetrate deeds disturbing the order [*Nizam*] and desired quietness, and if they stand against the good measures initiated by their voivodes in running the country's affairs or in setting the rajahs at ease, or if there would be some to commit hostile acts against the voivode's will — who had been selected by My Majesty and appointed and designated to rule over them — then, the voivodes shall be allowed and authorized independently (*'ali vech-iil-istiklâl*) to inflict due penalities on them, and do their utmost to punish all people of this description, in order to keep the poor rajahs in quiet and peace and maintain, the country's rules.

Likewise, the fixed share of the tribute (*cizye*) of the whole rajah, shall be levied, equally and rightfully, from everybody ; a rajah which has already paid the tribute shall not be overburdened with the share of those who, on some ungrounded pretences, should shirk (from payment), and refraining from offering such protections (the voivodes) shall pay permanent care to implementation of the law.

It has been written down and recorded that these (provisions) were included in my detailed graceful and illustrious order, issued in 1198, at the end of Rebi-ül-evvel [75], during the blissful reign of my imperial uncle, the late and blessed, he who was Saltan Abdul-Hamid Khan [76], Allah bless and forgive his soul !

The above-mentioned articles, meant to lead to the blossoming and prosperity of the respective country (Wallachia) and to the protection of its inhabitants and population against any oppression or violence, are the outcome of my kind forbearance toward the needy and the inhabitants — which is the quality of the imperial person, the bearer of justice over times, and due to the mercy granted to all those who had been entrusted by the Master of the Universe, the content of the high order issued before — as already mentioned — for the good administration of the country, shall stay in force

[75] Evahîr Rebi-ül-evvel 1198 = February 13—22, 1784.
[76] Abdul-Hamid I (1774—1789), the predecessor of the author of this document, Selim III (1789—1807).

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during My Imperial Majesty's reign as well. Therefore all heed shall be granted to the welfare of the subjects, particularly as the rajah and the inhabitants of Wallachia are concerned.

Similarly, by implementing the other glorious order as well — which my graceful and merciful majesty has granted — concerning their (the inhabitants of Wallachia) exemption (from taxes) for a term of two years, the country's blossoming shall be accelerated.

But, after the end of this term, the stipulations of the above-mentioned regulations shall be further observed : *gizie*, *îydiye* and *rîkabiye* (paid) by the country's rajah, and *giaize* and *avaid* by their voivodes.

As for the care granted to protecting the needy — as mentioned above, in my glorious firman, adorned with *hatt-i-hümayün*, issued in the year 1206 [77], in which there were inserted and recorded for their renewal, the high firman, adorned with *hatt-i hümayün* on top, issued in the year 1188 [78], as well as the illustrious order issued according to the gened [79], of the year 1198 [80].

But, as time went on, some of the mentioned stipulations have been altered or violated, and as the Russian state was entitled and able to mediate — in keeping with the clauses of the Treaty in force between the Grandious State (the Ottoman Empire) and the Russian State — in matters concerning the two countries (*Memleketeyin*), in order to consolidate even more, from now on, the implementation of the above-mentioned conditions, the Russian Ambassador at My Blissful Porte had made a written report and brought to my knowledge, acording to the instructions he had been given by his state, the articles mentioned below would have to be added :

— From now on, the term of the voivodes' reign shall be of 7 years, reckoned from the year of their appoinment, and if they are not proved guilty of any offense, they shall not be banished before the above-mentioned term ; if during this interval, there is proof of their being guilty, the High Devlet (the Ottoman Porte) shall inform the Ambassador of Russia ; if, after the case is investigated by both parts, and proof of the voivode's guilt has been established, only then can his banishment be approved of.

— Likewise, by cancelling all taxes, avaids and applications filed after 1198, the voivode shall state and, together with the boyars on the Divan, shall establish the annual duties and rightfully distribute them, and the voivodes shall refrain from deeds contrary to this rule. Similarly, the voivodes shall observe the statements to be made in conjunction with this matter or those concerning the maintenance of the conditions included in the present high order.

— Likewise, all troubles related to the exemption of the rajahs, produced by the country's boyars under the name of *skutelnik* (exempted) shall be annihilated, and in order to disburden, in this way, the rajahs of the tax difficulties, nobody in a rajah, excepting a certain number of tax-exempted whose duties are in charge of the Treasury, shall be exempted of taxpaying and all shall equally bear the hardships of dues, while the tax-collectors are strictly forbidden to persecute or tyrannize over the rajah in one way or another.

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[77] 1206 h = August 31, 1791 — July 21, 1792.
[78] 1182 h = March 14, 1774 — February 2, 1775.
[79] *Kned*, a document serving as evidence, a diploma, a warranty.
[80] 1198 h = November 26, 1783 — October 16, 1784.

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As for the pay of the soldiers in the armies of Wallachias, assistance is needed from the country of Moldavia, by special taxation, this question shall be rightfully and lawfully resolved, in keeping with another high order to be given to that effect to the voivode and the country's boyars shall be ordered and urged to make their utmost and find the necessary means for the withdrawal of the troops from Wallachia and for the soldiers to receive their pay. And as payment thereof depends on the collection of the necessary amount of money upon the fulfilment by the voivode of this obligation, the rajah of Wallachia shall be granted, according to the High Irade [81], a year of general tax-exemption.

— Similarly, the high orders to be further issued shall clearly state the quantities of timber, grains, fats and sheep, in brief, everything established to be sent to the High Porte, from the country's products, and such orders shall also appeal to the boyars, and be made public in front of the Divan of Wallachia. As talks are going to be started to establish if it is possible or not to find completely or partially the requested goods, account shall be taken of the demands of the boyars in this matter, through the intermediate of their voivodes. Similarly, as the cost of those goods are to be paid by the Ottoman State, in cash and without delay, at the current prices, they shall be bought in no other way, and the cost of the supplies to be bought shall be established at the prices settled annually at the Brăila gangways.

Lest the conveyance of supply be a burden on the rajah, the voivodes shall take care, in good faith, that the prices to be settled at the above-mentioned gangway shall include the cost of transportation of the supplies.

The High Orders to be issued in connection with the above-mentioned countries shall be publicly read to the Divan of Wallachia, and they shall be, afterwards, kept in the country's archives.

The country's offices shall be assigned to its inhabitants, but the voivodes themselves shall be willing to choose also people of Greek descent who are honest and skilled and who deserve such functions, and if oppression from their part occurs, the voivodes shall banish and punish them, in the same manner as the country's boyars, and oblige them to refund anything taken by force.

The Voivode, estimating yearly, together with the boyars on the Divan, the necessary expenditures for the administration of the post offices (*menzilhane*), he shall, by no means, levy a greater amount of money than that established before, while the administration of hospitals, schools and roads, or the like, specific for the country, shall be left in charge of the boyars, on order and advise of the voivodes.

The wealth left after the death of the monks, and which do not belong to the Metropolitan or to the monasteries, shall not be claimed by anybody, and they shall be distributed, through the intermediate of the voivodes, as incomes for the poor and orphans' "coffers" or for other "charity coffers", and at the death of the monks belonging to monasteries, the wealth left by them shall be distributed as incomes to the monasteries the monks had belonged to.

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[81] *Irade* — a document stating the Sultan's express demand in a certain matter.

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The question of upkeeping and using, as beforehand, the soldiers who have served in the past as well as nowadays, in the troops entrusted with the country's defence, shall be resolved by the voivodes together with the country's boyars.

All the lands in Wallachia and Moldavia, mentioned herewith, and which had been taken hold of under the name of "Rajah" (*Re'aya*), shall be restored, i.e. in Wallachia at Giurgiu (Yerkökü), at Brăila (Ibrail), at Turnu (Kule) and beyond the river Olt, and in Moldavia, the county of the Hotin ; the high orders to be issued shall settle specific terms in connection with this matter and shall be addressed to those concerned.

As already stated above, exception being made of the *fermanlii* dealers, attention shall be paid to stopping and preventing the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, the iamaks, and others who would violate the clauses, from coming into the country, settling there and producing losses to the rajah.

Thus, an express demand of My Majesty, is that all the high orders to be sent to the two countries (*Memleketeyin*) from now on, shall fit all these conditions and be in keeping with the privileges (*imtiyazat*) and the country's traditional customs, and its inhabitants who are living safe and sound at the shelter of My Imperial shade shall happily enjoy their welfare ; conditions shall be created for their full quiet and peace, for their prosperity and no needs contrary to the country's privileges, granted or offered by this present highly glorious firman of mine, shall be permitted.

Thus, this firman was issued, so that you, who are the above-mentioned voivode, in keeping with the demands of your in-born devotion and justice, and according to the demands of your zeal and deeds undertaken by free choice, as well at the country's boyars and inhabitants, should make proof of your gratefulness for the numerous privileges you have been granted and, showing concern for the preparation and implementation of any requests advanced by high orders, in keeping with the above-mentioned conditions, you should make your utmost and strive to show under all circumstances whatsoever, your due submission and obeyance, to carefully observe the formal rules of behaviour appropriate to submission and obeyance, and to hold off and refrain from allowing deeds and conducts, as unimportant as they be, contrary to the firman and permission. Therefore, this highly glorious order of mine has been issued and sent through... [82].

Thus, You, who are the above-mentioned Voivode, upon reading my highly entitled firman to Wallachia's Metropolitan, to all the bishops and archimandrites and to the fathers superior of the monasteries, as well as to all the higher or lesser boyars, or to the captains (*kapudan*) and the inhabitants of the rajah, you shall make its rightful content publicly known. As long as either the boyars or the rajahs of Wallachia, fulfilling with devotion and in good faith the due ceremonial appropriate to their submission and obeyance to my imperial orders, claiming respect, and as they would never deviate from the right way of fulfilling anything due to obeyance and submission we are confident that under my rightful reign, my imperial grace and

[82] Blank space, the name of the envoy had to be subsequently filled in.

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favours would spread under any possible form, over the rajah and *berajah* [83], as well as over the helpless and the weak, and so, they might incessantly enjoy their peace and welfare.

In like manner, you and your successors shall not suffer from the disturbing thoughts of banishment or dethronement as long as you show submitting obeyance to my High Porte, and as long as you fulfill your obligations required by your gratitude for the generosity of my high crown-bearing person, and as long the advice mentioned above shall be followed to the letter and as long as no clear guilt of yours shall be manifest, which would require your banishment or change.

Moreover, you shall keep the throne (*voyvodalîk*) of Wallachia as long as you will incessantly show your devotion and good faith. Obviously, if the above-mentioned clauses are steadily observed, efforts shall continuously made by My Majesty, my highest viziers, and most honoured officials (*vükelâ*) and care shall be taken of the privileges and welfare they had enjoyed under the rightful reign of my forefather His Majesty Sultan Mehmed han [84], Allah bless him and may he be in Heavens !

Likewise, as soon as one gets to know that the inhabitants of the banks of the Danube, or in the neighbouring places, as well as other people, of higher or lower standing, dare to commit offences against the Nizam, they shall certainly be punished on the spot.

Therefore, by bringing the benefits of my high order to the knowledge of all the boyars, inhabitants and rajahs of Wallachia, you shall do your utmost and advise them to pray for my long life and the permanence of my reign, for my increasing glory, and you should hold off and refrain from doing otherwise.

Addendum : The high order was drawn up at the end (*evahîr*) of *Dja*, in the year 217 [85].

Note : "Above the illustrious order, stands the glorious *hatt-i-humayun*, reading : "*Proceed according to requirements*".

Arhivele Statului Bucureşti, Documente turceşti, XXXII 2440.

50

1821, March, 3, Bucharest. Popovich Bucharest press correspondent of the Austrian "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" describes Tudor Vladimirescu's action.

Dear Sir,

On January 30th, the ruling prince Al(exandru) Suţu died, after having reigned for two years several weeks, hated and cursed by the whole country, as he and his favourites had incessantly worn it out.

[83] *Berajah* — a certain category of privileged people from the ranks of the people's mass, in contradistinction with "re'aya" which usually designated the peasantry.
[84] Probably Mehmed IV (1648—1687), under whose reign some regulations concerning the Romanian countries had been signed.
[85] Evahîr Djemazi-ül-evvel 1217 = September 19—28, 1802.

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But, on that very day, a certain purveyor, Tudor, accompanied by 38 armed men, crossed the Olt and reached Tîrgu-Jiu where he arrested the local prefect to confine him within the fortified walls of Tismana Monastery ; he rallied then all his loyal adherents and sent a courier to the Sublime Porte, and then, to the Russian Czar at Laybach, to explain to the two sovereigns the reasons of his rising in arms against the country's oppressors.

Then he made public a manifesto, calling all the country to the colours.

The boyars have first thought it was not serious at all, and did not take more trouble than getting a written anathema from the Metropolitan, and then, to entrust a captain of pandours with the mission to go with his men and arrest Tudor, on whose head a price of 500 piasters was put. All this was just done, when I found out that Tudor, with 1,500 men, in their greatest majority deserters from Transylvania, have entered the town of Cernet, arrested the prefect and appointed a man of their own in his place ; then he cautiosuly set out against Craiova, took hold of all monasteries and fortresses, left a guarrison and supplies there, and he is by now at a four-hour distance from Craiova, taking along with him as an engineer, a comrade of ours, Franz Klinger by his name. The Provisional Government has taken, indeed, all measures to prevent the rebellion, but no boyar dares to go against it, and so the government summoned all the mercenaries, some 300 odd soldiers, gave them a month-pay, 50 piasters to the horsemen and 25 piasters to footmen, who had been joined by a lamentable mob of Bucharest tramps, and all together, as soon as they arrived at Craiova, informed the Government that they would not fight against Master Tudor (that is what they call him) until the authorities would give them three-month pay in advance.

The authorities were reluctant to make such payment lest the money went into Master Tudor's hands.

This is the way things were the day before yesterday. Yesterday, early in the morning, the local Austrian agency got the news from the courier of your chief of Tîrgoviste that the peasants there, particularly those from whom the late Prince had arbitrarily confiscated their belongings, rose up in rebellion, and after the gatherings held there, 600 well-armed people set out heading for Bucharest, They claimed their lost privileges and goods.

Yesterday, the boyars and the widow of the late Prince had already rushed to demand the publication of that document. I do not know what happened, but I shall tell you no more than in Bucharest all are on the point of taking to their heels, terror-crazed, and the consuls have sent their couriers to Laybach to find out what assurance they can get from there.

The Commander General of Sibiu also sent an officer to Master Tudor, but I was not able to find out on what purpose and for what reason.

This Master Tudor was a Russian colonel, who commanded here, during the Russian war, over a unit of 6,000 pandours and in 1814, he went to Vienna to the Congress, and he lodged a complaint with the Czar about the local authorities who had not paid him compensations for a 70,000 piasters worth loss caused to him by the brigands, although he had delivered the latter to the authorities ; but, the latter, after stripping them of their booty, set them free without offering him any compensation. This prompted him to

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take up arms and he declared that he would not lay them down until another form of government was enthroned in these lands.

But, no answer came from Constantinople or from Laybach, actually, the Porte has appointed in Suţu's place Spatharus Calimachi, who had been a prince in Jassy, nevertheless, no caimacan has arrived from him yet, and some boyars planned to ask the Turks to come and help them against Tudor, (but) the Russian Consul and the Austrian one rejected their plan as contravening the Treaty, so that we have for long been in expectation.

My strongest desire would be to see these countries occupied by Austria, but all think that this will be done by Russia.

There is an undescribable shortage of money here, nobody pays odd money back, all are prepared to turn tail at any moment. The boyars tremble with fear, timorous as they are, and the mercenaries play the boyars now.

(signed) Popovich

Bucharest, March 1821

Bundesministeriumarchiv für Innere, Abteilung Polizei Hofstelle, Wien. The records are partially destroyed. *See:* Mihail Popescu, *Contribuţiuni documentare la istoria revoluţiei din 1821* (Documentary Contributions to the History of the 1821 Revolution) In: "Revista Arhivelor", I, II, Nos. 4—5. 1927—1929, pp. 174—176 (sec Note p. 218). German original.

51

1821, March 12, Vienna. Diplomatic dispatch sent by Pignot, the deputy Minister Plenipotentiary of Prussia at Vienna, to Friedrich Wilhelm II, the King of Prussia, on the causes of the Revolution of the Romanians led by Tudor Vladimirescu.

Your Majesty,

I consider it my duty to most humbly report to Your Majesty the most recent news I have got from all the letters coming from Bucharest, on the undertakings of a certain Tudor Vladimirescu, a name he assumed himself from St. Vladimir's Cross, with which — they say — he had been decorated, former purveyor, and cashier to Prince Alexandru Suţu. He set himself at the head of a group of 50 people, who have considerably grown in number. He proclaimed his intention to restore the old paying system in the province of Wallachia, in force during the reign of autochtonous prince. These taxes amounted by then to only 800,000 gross a year, which still is the source of the tribute paid by Wallachia to the Porte. But, besides the original duties, the taxes have gradually swollen up to the huge sum of 10—12 million gross, and some people think that Wallachia had paid up to 20 million gross under

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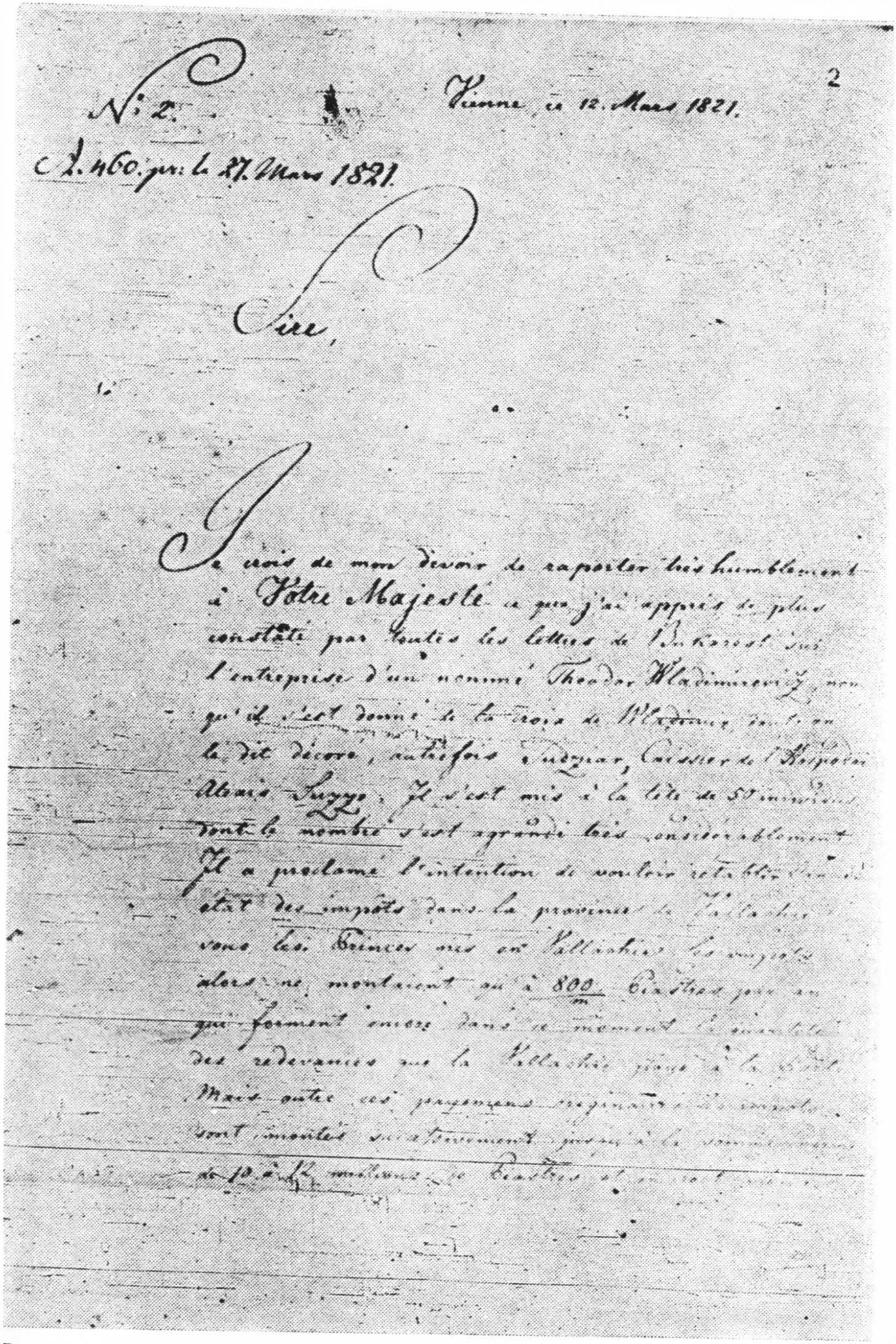
N° 2. Vienne, le 12. Mars 1821. 2

c 2. 460. pr: le 27. Mars 1821.

Sire,

Je crois de mon devoir de rapporter très humblement à Votre Majesté ce que j'ai appris de plus constaté par toutes les lettres de Bukarest sur l'entreprise d'un nommé Theodor Wladimirovicz, nom qu'il s'est donné de la croix de Wladimir, dont on le dit décoré, autrefois Sudgiar, Caissier de l'Hospodar Alexis Suzzo. Il s'est mis à la tête de 50 individus dont le nombre s'est agrandi très considérablement. Il a proclamé l'intention de vouloir rétablir l'ancien état des impôts dans la province de Wallachie sous les Princes mis en Wallachie. Les impôts alors ne montaient qu'à 800 m Piastres par an qui forment encore dans ce moment la quantité des redevances que la Wallachie paye à la Porte. Mais outre ces payemens réguliers, les impôts sont montés successivement jusqu'à la somme annuelle de 10 à 12 millions de Piastres et ce sont …

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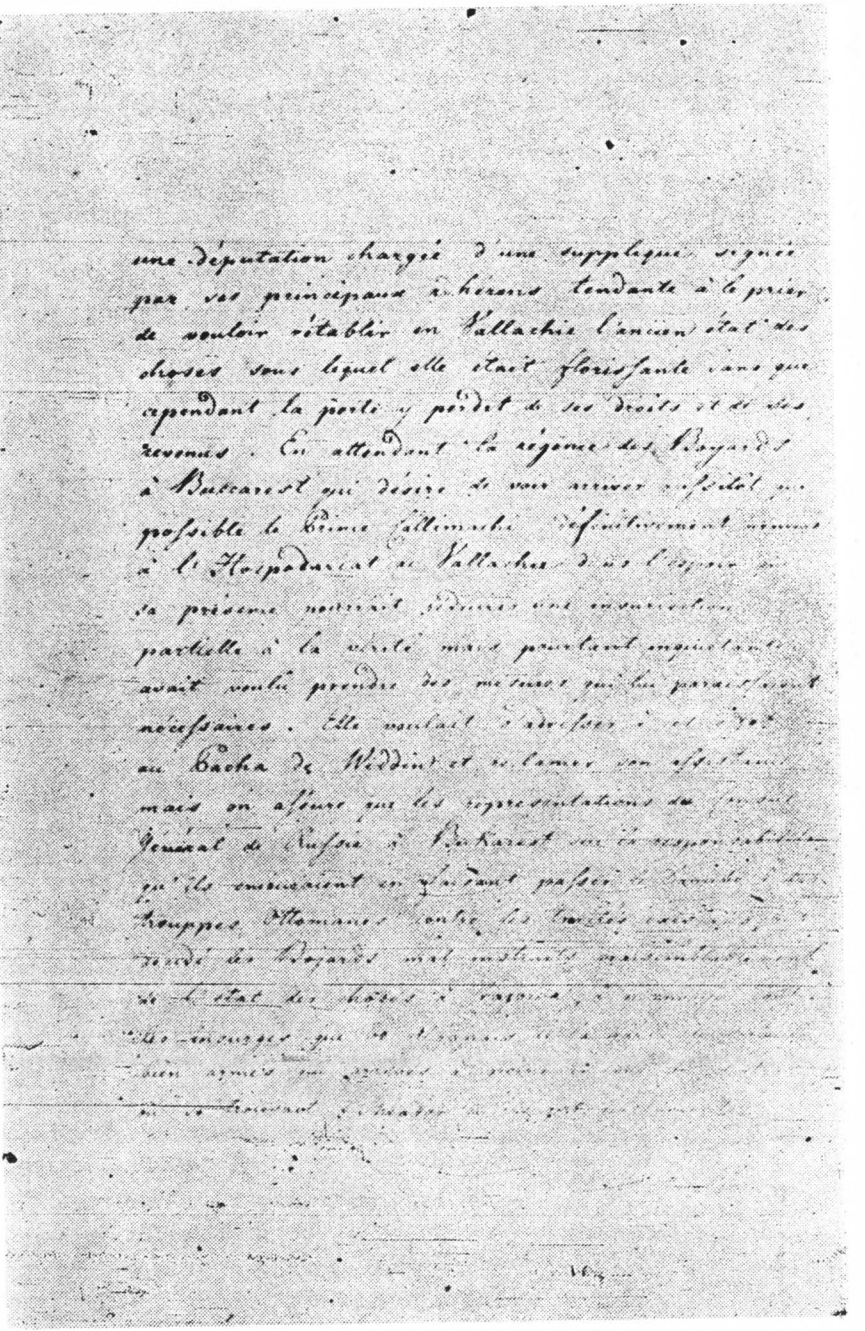

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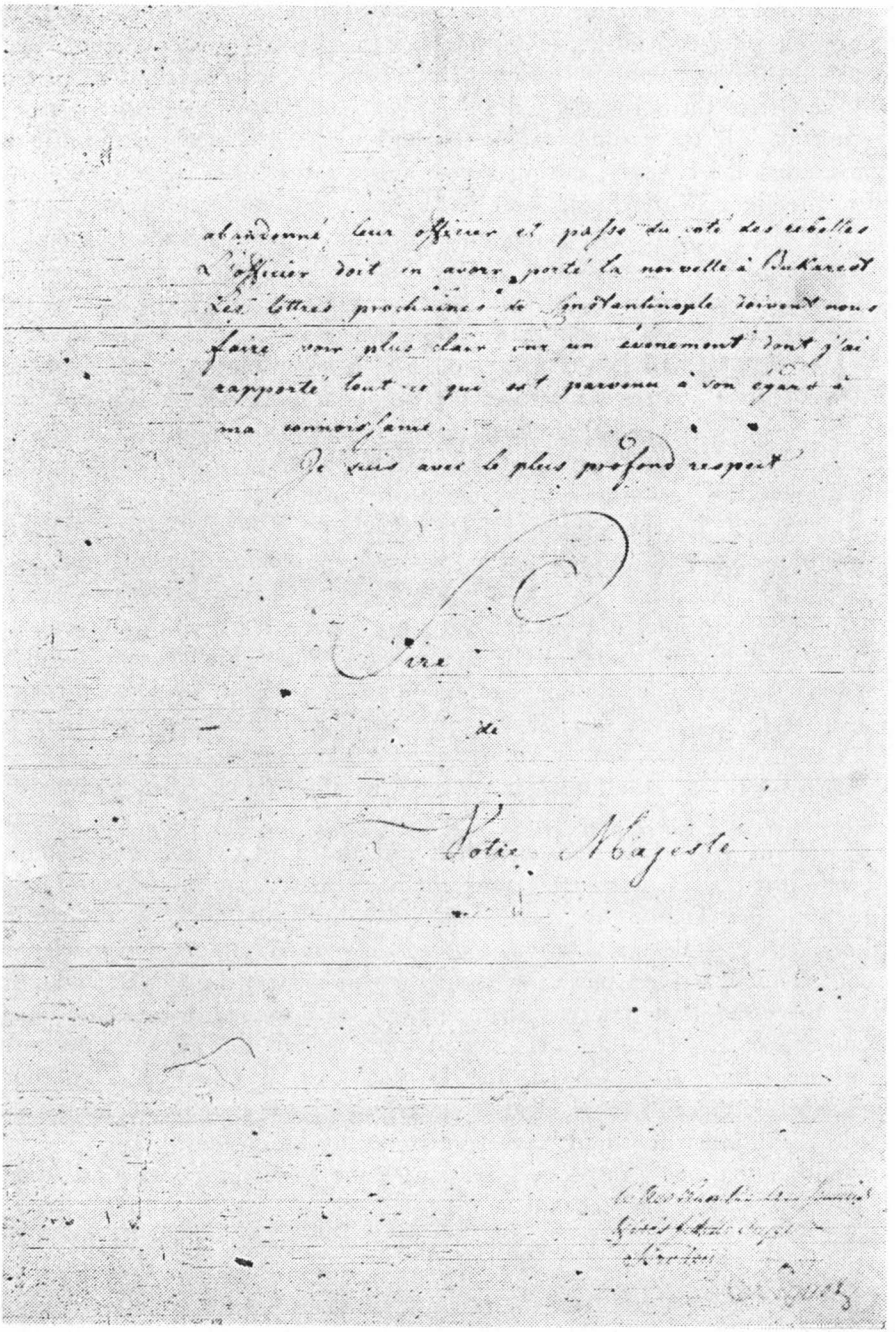

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the reign of Prince Caragea. A main reason of this increase is the fact, that a Prince, in order to gain his reign, has to pay a certain amount of money, as well as other things but no less important, which the prince had to pay annually and send them for the Sultan's favourite and for the entire Ottoman Government. All these sums of money had to be squeezed out to the last farthing from the country, during 7-year reign of each prince and they overburden the poor Wallachian, who hardly can get through so many taxes.

Purveyor Tudor, whose numerous partisans have already reached the number of 2,000 men, set out towards Craiova, the capital of Lesser Wallachia, and as some people say without levying taxes, and according to more credible sources, by collectioning the money necessary to his sustenance. The story goes that he had levied a rate on a rich monastery in the neigbhbourhood of Craiova, where he settled his headquarters, barricading and fortifying in every way possible this naturally strengthened position. He stated that he would wait there for the Sultan's decisions, to whom he had sent a deputation with a memorandum signed by his principal partisans, asking him to be so kind and restore the old state of affairs in Wallachia, to make the country blossoming as it used to be, without, nevertheless, the Porte losing any rights and incomes.

In the meantime, the boyar's régime of Bucharest, who were eager to see Prince Callimachi — definitely appointed to Wallachia's throne — installed as soon as possible, hoping against hope that his presence might check the insurrection — partial as it is, but upsetting, and so they took the step they deemed best.

They wanted to address themselves to this aim to the pashalyk of Vidin, claiming for his assistance, but assurance is given that, the fact that the Consul of Russia at Bucharest had put the boyards into guard on the responsibility they incurred by calling the Turkish troops to cross the Danube contrary to the Treaties in force, had determined the boyars, misinformed on the state of affairs at Craiova, to send only 60 Albanian mercenaries, but as soon as they arrived there, on seeing the monastery in which Tudor had settled, discussed and deserted their officer, and ranged themselves on the part of the rebels. It seems that the officers carried the news to Bucharest. The future letters from Constantinople would be of great help, of course, to make us better and more clearly understand an event, about which I reported everything which had been brought to my knowledge.

With my deepest respects, I remain, Your Majesty, Yours most humble and devoted subject and servant

Obediently Yours,
B. Pignot

Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Berlin, Historische Abteilung II Merseburg, Auswärtiges Amt I, Rep. I No. 2224. French original.

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1821, April 12. An autograph letter of the Knight of Gentz, Metternich's Secretary and collaborator, addressed to an unknown person.

"The Greeks' revolution shall end probably, like all the others to the family vault of all the Capulets.

It is true that a great anarchy has been reigning all over, particularly in Bucharest. But Ipsilanti [86], although he had sent an advanced detachment of 1,000 cavalry men, dit not show himself in Bucharest, and nobody knew something of sure about him. On the other hand, Tudor occupied with his army corps all the parts of the city, which had not been taken previously by the Greeks. Worth mentioning would be that the Romanians and Tudor's pandours observe the most rigorous discipline and one is sentenced to death for the least excess ; on the other hand, Ipsilanti's Greeks, wherever they appear, commit such horrible excesses against the country's innocent inhabitants before which our mortal nature does tremble. Tudor is an ordinary and unlearned man, but a patriot, who declares that it has never occured to him to rise in war or rebellion against the Porte, that he wants the country's complaints and the oppression perpetrated by the Greeks and the boyars put on the right way and that he ceaselessly sends to Constantinople the imploring evidence in this sense. He wants no drop of Romanian blood shed for the Greeks, whom he hates himself. On the other hand, Ipsilanti is a fanatic radical, and as you also know, a faithless liar, and the Hellenic people, thirsty for liberty, are the scums of the world. This difference seems most remarkable.

Otherwise, in Constantinople, the greatest preparations of war are being made by sea and by land.

Up to the 24th no disorder occurred. On the contrary, the Patriarch of the Greeks pronounced anathema against Ipsilanti, Mihai Suțu (of Jassy) and all their adherents".

Annals of the Romanian Academy, Series 2, vol. XXXV (1912—1913) Administration and Debates, p. 59, French original, fragment.

[86] Son of the former Phanariot Prince of Wallachia, Constantin Ipsilanti, of Greek descent, General of the Russian Army and Aide-de-camp of the Czar, he became the head of the Hetaeria. Coming into conflict with Tudor Vladimirescu he devised the murder of the leader of the Romanian Revolution on May 27, 1821.

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The evolution of the society on the capitalist road was delayed in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, owing to their specific historical conditions and first of all, to the maintenance of foreign domination. By the middle of the 19th century, the advanced forces of the Romanian people — the bourgeoisie, the greatest majority of the boyars who had realized the need for social progress, and the peasantry overburdened with mediaeval type servitutes, have all vigorously risen in struggle for the abolishment of feudal order and the elimination of foreign domination which hindered the development of the three Romanian provinces which actually belonged to one and sole national entity.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution launched against this background in 1848 and discontinued in August 1849, asserted in front of the whole world the social ideals of this nation, the principles of the social equity and national freedom which inspirited it in all the grand deeds. The revolutionary programmes tried to meet the specific conditions deriving from the artificial political separation and the differing political status imposed upon the Romanian countries by the neighbouring empires, and aimed at the abolition of the peasantry's feudal servitutes and distribution of land to the peasantry, the elimination of privileges and of feudal ranks (boyars' or nobiliary), equal rights in front of the law, political rights to all citizens, including the inhabitants of other nationalities. They aimed at giving free rein to the development of the new economic and social system, at setting up institutions corresponding to the new ascending modern society, and thus, at finding for the Ro-

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manian nation the place it deserved among the European nations.

The progress of the revolution proved how solid and vital the desire of the Romanian nation could be, to live a free life, to self-dependently run its domestic affairs, according to its own wish, and how strong the union and the rising of its forces on this purpose was. The generation of 1848, realizing that any desired progress might be reached only if the Romanians were masters in their own house, actioned in the name of the nation as the main bearer of the developments, as depository of historical destinies which deserved recognition. In the international situation obtaining by then, facing the iminent danger of foreign intervention, the expression of the national will of the Romanian people appeared in various forms, from the request regarding the observance of the old treaties concluded by their great sovereigns, the guaranteeing of administrative and legislative internal autonomy, non-interference by any foreign power whatsoever in their domestic affairs, to the wish to proclaim the Union of Moldavia and Wallachia into a single, independent state, or the wish of the Transylvanians "to unite with the Mother country".

The 1848 revolutionaries have emphasized the luminous message of the approach between the Romanian people and the co-inhabiting nationalities, and have arduously advocated for solidarity with the neighbouring peoples and for harmony among nations. The claims of this generation pointed in fact to the need for political unity of all Romanians, for an independent and democratic state with friendly international relations grounded on justice. European and American political and diplomatic documents attest to the spirit of the Romanian aspirations.

International public opinion was overwhelmed with wonder at the way the revolutionary forces of a people which was one part under Ottoman suzeranity and Czarist protectorate, and the other under Hapsburg domination had been able to defeat the internal counter-revolutionary resistance almost without bloodshed. But the Romanian people was not strong enough to thwart the intrigues and machinations of the three empires, highly interested in checking any

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renewing changes and, particularly, in stifling the aspirations for union and self-depending development.

And, as it unfortunately happened in the past, the armies of these powers overwhelmed the Romanian heroism.

Although suppressed, the Romanian Revolution part and parcel of and the most easternmost output of the European Revolution of 1848, clearly showed the path towards the fulfilment of the people's social and national aspirations. It sharpened its fighting spirit, enriched its experience and strengthened the determination of the Romanian leaders to pool all efforts and power towards the making of the national state as an organizing centre of the nation.

When the external factors which had suppressed the revolution ceased or were not able to exert pressure any more, the Romanian revolutionary programme was gradualy achieved. The Union of 1859 and the sustained efforts for the modernization of the state and society as a whole, during the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza turned into a genuine and decisive lever for the realization of another historical liberation act of our national life — the gaining of independence. Winning its independence and sovereignty, Romania became equal in rights with all the other states and could thus better safeguard its national being, could develop and meet the requirements of full national growth, could support the liberation struggle of Romanian provinces, still under foreign domination. Thus, the social and political changes achieved up to 1918 are generally speaking the natural outcome of the 1848—1849 revolution.

STAN APOSTOL
Doctor of History.

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1847, January 8, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by the Minister of France at Bucharest, De Nion, to his Foreign Minister, Guizot, on the fact that the Romanians were profoundly hostile to the Ottoman domination in the Principalities.

I acknowledge receipt of and I am highly honoured by the letter sent by Your Excellency on December 3rd last, and of No. 5.

I am happy to learn from the exposé drawn with such great goodwillingness, providing a detailed and clear account of the views of His Majesty's Government on the question of the relations between the Principalities and the Porte. I shall reread the instructions and turn them into a standing rule for my conduct and mode of expression.

There is, maybe, one single point where my personal notes are not in harmony with the information arrived at Your Excellency's Ministry. I have not been able, I must confess, although I foccused my whole attention on this subject, to find any sign of a general tendency of the Moldo-Wallachian population towards a policy of sympathy and union with Turkey. It is hard enough, I should say from the very beginning, to discern for certain in a country like this, what elsewhere would be called public opinion ; one has to investigate, insted, for a better understanding of the spirit animating them, their traditions and instincts. Or, according to their traditions, the Turks are their homeland's oppressors, the ravagers of their countryside, the founders of serfdom, under the yoke of which they are still sighing. Their instincts deny them to look at the Turks as the missionaires of philantropy and of civilisation : Ottoman domination is and shall be to their eyes — not for long — only the irreconcillable enemy of their religion, of their welfare and liberties. It is in this sense, I dare say, that Prince Bibescu should be considered as the highest and also the most loyal personification, of the feelings and sentiments of the many. In spite of his remarkable education,

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his long-standing initiation into the European ideas and habits, his temperament, his nature, the impressions of his youthful years, bring him much nearer than he could admit, to the primordial type of the Wallachian nationality. The disciple of our schools, the guest of our drawing rooms, lets one easily discern, under this foreign cover, the son of the old pandours with his hands callous, indurated by having handled the sword and the plough, always ready to rise in revolt and in battle, against the worshippers of Mahomet. Hence, obviously, the mutual antipathy between him and the aristocrats, and particularly the fraction of this clan which is formed of the remains of the Phanariot system.

And it is also there that he turns his eyes to, when irritated by the opposition of *the great boyards*, he looks for a fulcrum, for the means that might help him act, at the end of an unequal fight, to resume the offensive and proceed maybe to large and terrible repraisals. I could convince myself that I was right in judging him due to the fits he threw, less than two months ago, strongly displeased and indignant at the electoral manoeuvres of his opponents.

The situation is totally different now, indeed, the Prince's moods have changed. I know it quite well, and most sincerely hail the restoration of calm and harmony so much needed by all — be they governors or governed.

I note with no less satisfaction the tokens of respectful gratitude with which gifts brought by Reschid-Pasha's Secretary have been received. I grasp this opportunity to seek and promote, the best I am able, these incipient signs of rapprochement, so much close to the genuine interests of the Principalities. I am ready to admit the progress that this tendency is undergoing and is able to undergo particularly within the high ranks of society, and if I were to speak my head off, within the few elected and eligible, to the great honour of the Nizam. But, that this well-balanced policy, this interested spirit of tolerance might descend from high places to go deep down in the soul of the Moldo-Wallachian populations, to replace the germs of hate, which have been fermenting in it for centuries on end, this is a think I would believe only after having seen it with my own, eyes, or ascertain from irrefutable testimonies. Or, I dare resume, Your Excellency, it is just the opposite that I have been able to see up to now, of course to my deepest regret, but clear enough, to make me cherish no hopes in this respect.

Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. Fonds Turquie — Bucarest, III, 1844—1846, 19, 10. French original.

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1848, August 1, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by H.M. Consul of the United Kingdom at Bucharest, Robert J. Colquhoun, to H.J.T. Palmerston, Secretary of State of Great Britain, concerning the protest made by the Provisional Government, objecting against the entrance of the Turkish troops in the Principalities.

Bucharest 1st August 1848

No. 35

My Lord,

At the moment of closing my Post, I have received the annexed Letter from the Provisional Secretary of State, and in accordance with the request of Mr. de Golesco, lose no time in transmitting a copy of it and its enclosures to Your Lordship.

I have the Honour to be,
My Lord,

Your Lordships most obedient
and most humble Servant,
Robert J. Colquhoun

Annex 1. Copy

Letter by A. G. Golescu to R. Colquhoun

To H.M. Consul of the United Kingdom

Dear Sir,

I am most honoured to bring to your notice the enclosed petition, addressed by the Provisional Government to His Excellency Suleyman-Pasha, Envoy Extraordinary of the Sublime Porte to Wallachia. This notification has been considered necessary to stand for an answer to the letter, whose copy I have also sent to you, and which preceded the arrival of His Excellency on Wallachian territory. This letter addressed, as you can see Yourself, to one administrator in Giurgiu, Mr. I. Filipescu, announced us of the arrival of His Excellency Suleyman Pasha with a corps of Turkish army.

I think it is not necessary, Dear Sir, to remind you of all the situation deriving from our domestic reform. You have witnessed yourself to the peaceful or regular means by which we have gained our liberty and administrative independence. Our work has been easily accomplished for we have been firmly defending our incontrovertible rights recognized by the Treaties of Bayazed, Mohamet II, and even by Article 5, under the Treaty of Adrianople. With all these reasons favourably and powerfully advocating for our cause, we most regretfully see that our territory has been occupied

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No. 35. 98 Bucarest 1st August 1848.

Gr. Sen. Colquhoun to D. Bu. Aug 1848

My Lord,

At the moment of closing my Post, I have received the annexed Letter from the Provisional Secretary of State, and in accordance with the request of Mr. de Golesco, I lose no time in transmitting a Copy of it & its Enclosures to your Lordship.

Sheff of State No. 1235 & enclosures

I have the Honor to be

My Lord

Your Lordships most obedt

& most humble Servant

Robert G. Colquhoun

The Right Hon.ble

Viscount Palmerston G.C.B.

Foreign Office.

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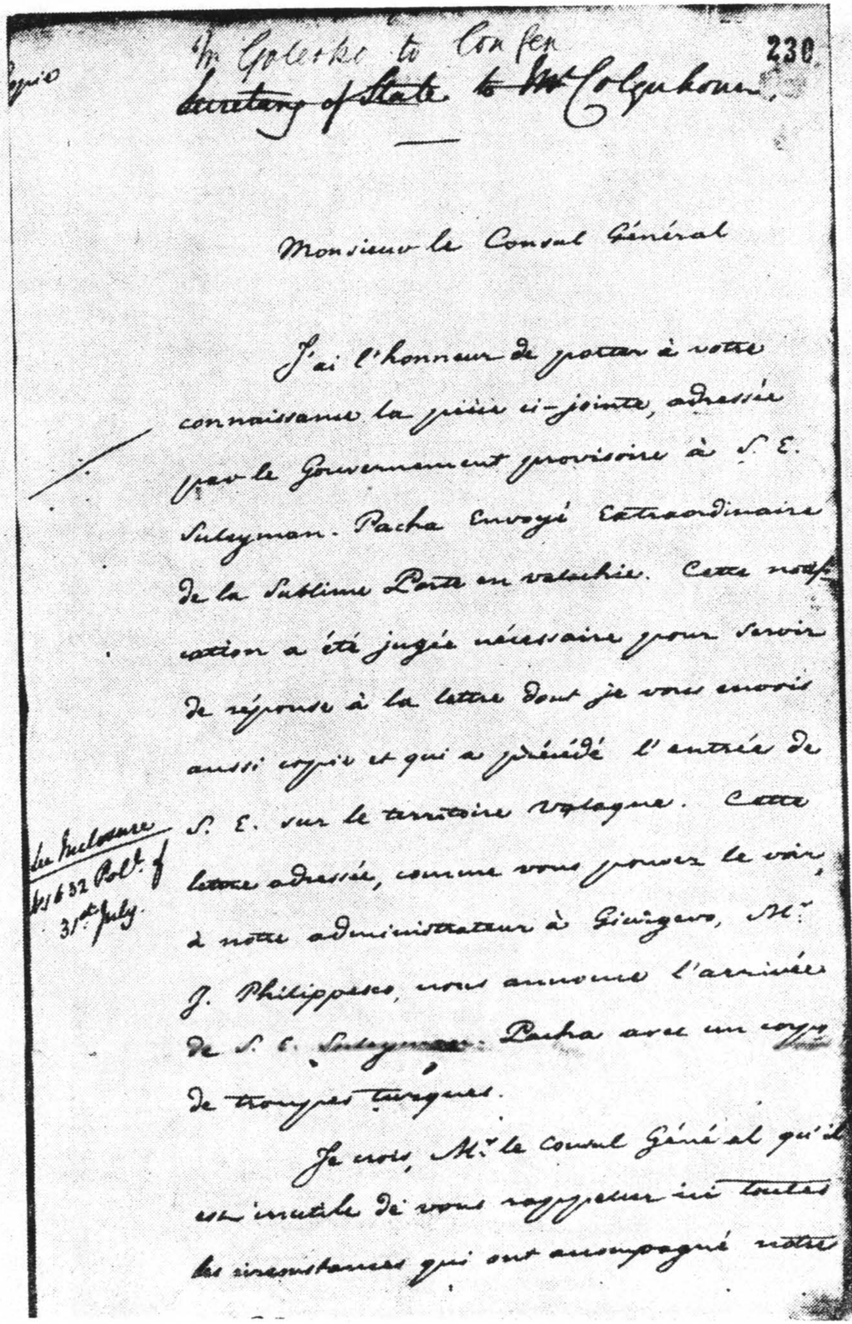

Copie

Mr Golesko to Con Gen ~~Secretary of State to Mr~~ Colquhoun.

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Monsieur le Consul Général

J'ai l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance la pièce ci-jointe, adressée par le Gouvernement provisoire à S. E. Suleyman-Pacha Envoyé Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte en Valachie. Cette notification a été jugée nécessaire pour servir de réponse à la lettre dont je vous envoie aussi copie et qui a précédé l'entrée de S. E. sur le territoire valaque. Cette lettre adressée, comme vous pouvez le voir, à notre administrateur à Giurgevo, Mr J. Philippesco, vous annonce l'arrivée de S. E. ~~Suleyman~~ Pacha avec un corps de troupes turques.

See Inclosure
No 1632 Pold. of
31st July

Je crois, Mr le Consul Général qu'il est inutile de vous rappeler ici toutes les circonstances qui ont accompagné notre

Doc. 54 b

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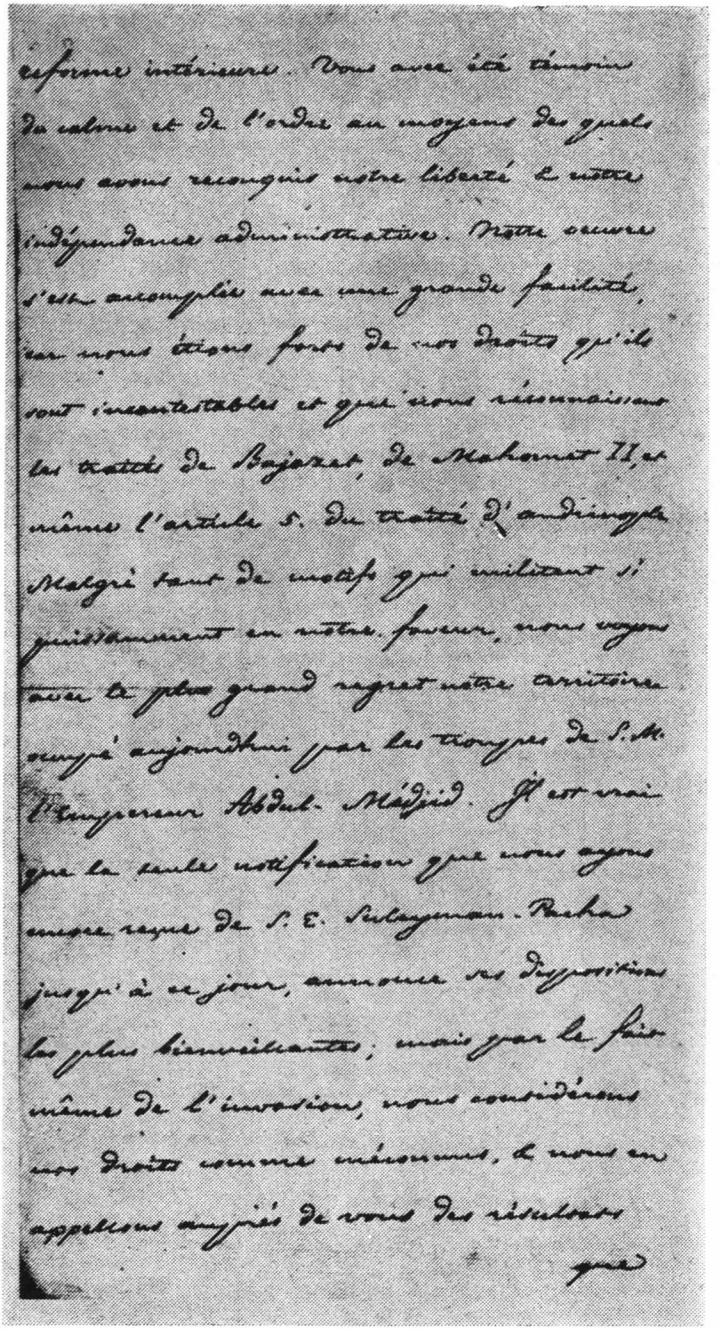

réformes intérieures. Vous avez été témoins de calme et de l'ordre au moyens desquels nous avons recouvré notre liberté et notre indépendance administratives. Notre oeuvre s'est accomplie avec une grande facilité, car nous étions fondés de nos droits qu'ils sont incontestables et que vous reconnaissez aux traités de Bajazet, de Mahomet II, et même l'article 5. du traité d'Andrinople. Malgré tant de motifs qui militaient si puissamment en notre faveur, nous voyons avec le plus grand regret notre territoire occupé aujourd'hui par les troupes de S.M. l'Empereur Abdul-Medjid. Il est vrai que la seule notification que nous ayons encore reçue de S.E. Sirleymann-Pacha jusqu'à ce jour, annonce des dispositions les plus bienveillantes; mais pour le fait même de l'invasion, nous considérons nos droits comme méconnus, et nous en appelons auprès de vous des résolutions que

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que peut entraîner une telle démarche.
Nous désirons vivement que la paix
et l'ordre restent dans le présent état
où nous les avons maintenus jusqu'ici,
mais, cependant, si les intrigues intérieures,
ou extérieures, saisissaient ce prétexte
pour amener dans le pays quelques
désordres, nous vous déclarons, Monsieur
le Consul Général, que nous déclinons
d'avance toute responsabilité.

Nous espérons, M.r le Consul Général
que vous voudrez bien informer votre
Gouvernement de notre position, et que
l'Angleterre n'hésitera pas à nous
renouveler le généreux appui qu'elle
nous a prêté en 1828 dans une situa-
tion presqu'analogue.

Agréez &c.

Pour le Sécrétaire d'Etat
/Signé/ Golescko.

N.° 1235
Bucarest
20. Juillet
août
1848.

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Provisional Goverment of Wallachia 232
t. ~~H. E.~~ Suleyman Pasha

Excellence,

Il y a dix huit siècles que les Roumains ont payé de leur sang le droit de nommer cette terre Roumanie, et de la laisser en héritage à leurs glorieux fils. C'est de cette mémorable époque que date pour nous une ère de souffrances, au milieu des quelles nous avons lutté avec courage et résignation contre l'ambition avide de quelques puissances étrangères. Mais Dieu après nous avoir fait passer par l'épreuve du feu, de l'epée & du fouet, nous a permis d'arriver où nous sommes aujourdhui, tous jeunes, tous forts, tous Roumains, comme au jour de notre naissance. Au temps où la force brutale dictait ses lois sur la terre, nous avons défendu nos foyers

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nous les avons rougis de notre sang, et c'est seulement en sentant diminuer nos forces que nous avons fait un appel à la protection du plus puissants des Empires, à l'Empire Ottoman.

Aujourd'hui la force physique est un moyen brutal, indigne des esprits avancés du 19ème siècle, aussi, armés seulement de nos saints droits aux yeux de la Sublime Porte, et du monde entier, nous avons écarté avec calme un joug humiliant, et trois heures ont suffi pour ruiner à jamais les espérances de ceux qui rêvaient l'asservissement de la patrie de la plus fidèle amie de la Sublime Porte.

Excellence, quand l'Empire Ottoman a daigné nous accorder sa protection, il nous a assuré pleine et entière défense dans à l'intérieur. Le Sultan Bajazet et plus tard, en 1460, le Sultan Mahomet II ont sanctifié nos droits que nous avons solennellement

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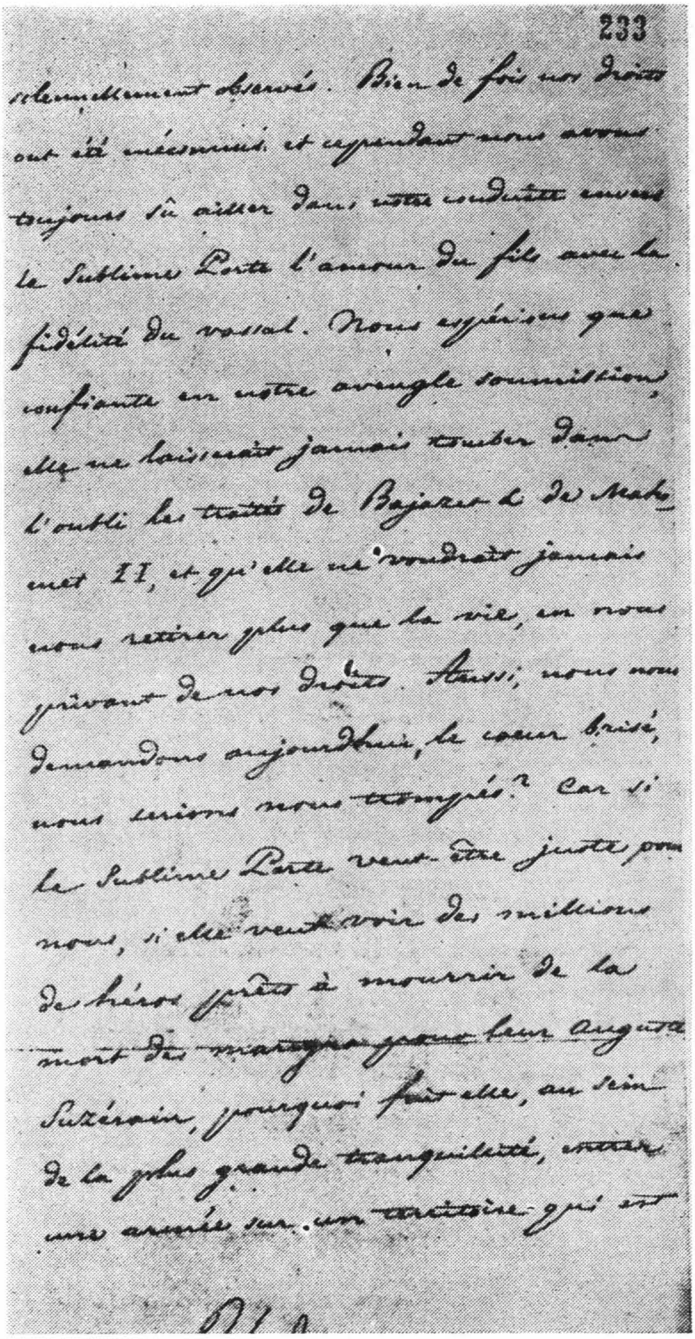

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religieusement observés. Bien de fois nos Droits
ont été méconnus et cependant nous avons
toujours su aller dans notre conduite envers
le Sublime Porte l'amour du fils avec la
fidélité du vassal. Nous espérions que
confiante en notre aveugle soumission,
elle ne laisserait jamais tomber dans
l'oubli les traités de Bajazet I et de Mah-
met II, et qu'elle ne voudrait jamais
nous retirer plus que la vie, en nous
privant de nos Droits. Aussi, nous nous
demandons aujourd'hui, le coeur brisé,
nous serions nous trompés? Car si
le Sublime Porte veut être juste pour
nous, si elle veut voir des milliers
de braves forcés à mourrir de la
mort des martyres pour leur auguste
Suzérain, pourquoi fait-elle, au sein
de la plus grande tranquillité, entrer
une armée sur notre territoire qui est

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le nôtre.

Les Roumains n'ont jamais voulu se dégrader à porter le masque de la duplicité, aussi Dieu a toujours été avec eux. Nous ne craignons pas de nous montrer à notre auguste Suzerain, à l'Europe entière, car c'est en Roumanie que se décidera la question des libertés du monde. Nous nous montrons le front haut, le cœur pur, pleins de courage & de foi, à la voix seule de notre conscience qui nous crie: il n'est pas un seul article qui attaque les puissances étrangères, il n'est pas un seul article que nous n'ayons le droit non seulement de demander, mais encore de mettre à exécution, s'il y a encore un Dieu dans le Ciel et une justice sur la terre.

Ainsi donc, nous demandons à V. E. de nous servir d'organe auprès de S. H. le Sultan, dont la justice fait notre plus

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plus ferme appui. Implorez-le au nom de toute la Roumanie qui parle ici par la voix de ses élus, qui demande au bienfaiteur de l'orient de ne point s'aliéner des amis dévoués et fidèles en les privant de leurs droits, mais au contraire de consolider leur grande œuvre, le bonheur du peuple, par la retraite d'une armée dont la présence a jeté l'inquiétude et même l'effroi dans bien de cœurs. Non, S.M. ne veut pas devenir le Suzerain d'une vaste solitude, et si les Roumains ont juré de ne jamais lever l'étendard contre leur auguste Suzerain, ils ne pourront non plus vivre sans cette Constitution que le ciel leur a donnée pour les consoler de leurs longues souffrances.

Bucarest ce 19/31 Juillet 1848.

Suivent les signatures des membres du Gouvernement provisoire. ——

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by the troops of H.M. Emperor Abdul Medjid. It is true that the only notification we have ever received from H.E. Suleyman Pasha expresses only his most goodwilling instructions, but taking into account the invasion itself, we regard our rights as not observed and we appeal to Your Honour to think about the outcomes of such an approach.

We, heartily wish peace and order be kept in the same way we have safe-guarded them until now, but, if domestic or foreign intrigues take advantage of this pretext to produce trouble in this country, we declare, My Lord, that we decline beforehand any responsibility.

We hope, My Lord, that You would inform Your Government of our stands and that Great Braitain would not hesitate to renew the generous assistance which had been granted to us in 1828, in an almost similar situation.

With my highest respects.

Obediently Yours
(For) Secretary of State
(signed) Golescu

No. 1239
Bucharest
July 20/August 1, 1848

Annex 2

The Provisional Government of Wallachia
to H.E. Suleyman Pasha

Your Excellency,

For 18 centuries, the Romanians have paid with their blood the right to call this land Romania and to bequeath it to their glorious sons. This memorable epoch has been for us an epoch of long sufferings during which we have courageously and resignedly fought against the greedy ambitions of some foreign powers. But, God Almighty, after having brought us on the test of fire, sword and whip, allowed us to come here where we are now, all young, strong and Romanians, as we used to be at the hour of our birth. When the brutal force dictated its laws on the land, we defended our homes, reddening them with our own blood and it was only when we saw that our forces were decreasing that we appealled to the protection of the most powerful empires, of the Ottoman Empire.

Nowadays, physical force is a brutal force, unworthy of the advanced spirits of the 19th century, and armed only with our sacred rights in front of the Sublime Porte and the whole world, we have calmly borne a humiliating yoke, and three hours have been enough to crush the hopes of those who dreamt of submitting and destroying the most loyal friend of the Sublime Porte.

Your Excellency, when the Ottoman Empire deigned to grant us its protection, it gave us formal assurances of full and complete independence at home. Sultan Bayazed, and later on, in 1460, Sultan Mohamed II sanctioned our rights which we have solemnly observed. Our rights have several times been disregarded and nevertheless we have blended in our conduct to-

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wards the Sublime Porte filial feelings with the vasal's loyalty, we hope that trusting our blind obedience, it would never let sink into oblivion the Treaties of Bayazed and Mohamed II and it would not be willing to take more than our life by depriving us of our rights. So, we ask ourselves brokenheartedly now, shall we be betrayed ? If the Sublime Porte is willing to do us justice, if it is willing to see millions of heroes dying as martyrs for their majestic suzerain, why then, in times of quiet and obeyance, is it entering with army into a territory which belongs to us ?

The Romanians have never debased themselves by wearing the mask of duplicity, and therefore God has always been on their side. We are not afraid of telling our majestic suzerain, all Europe that freedom of the world will be decided in Romania. We shall appear before the world with our chins up and open-harted, brave and confident, with our conscience alone that dictates us : there is no article to attack foreign powers, no article to deny our right to demand and to execute, as long as God is in Heavens and there is justice on Earth.

Thus, we ask Your Excellency to be so kind and intercede for us with His Highness the Sultan, whose justice is of utmost help. Implore him, in the name of all Romania, which speaks though the voice of its representatives, which asks the benefactor of Orient not to desert his devoted and loyal friends by depriving them of their rights, but on the contrary he should strengthen their grand work, the happiness of the people. No, His Highness would never accept to become the suzerain of a vast solitude, and if the Romanians had sworn never to set up their standard, against their majestic suzerain they cannot live without this Constitution which the Heavens have bestowed upon them to soothe them for their long-enduring sufferings.

Bucharest, July 19/31, 1848
Signatures of the members
of the Provisional Government

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Turkey, F.O. 78, vol. 742, pp. 228—234. English and French original.

55

1848, September 11, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by H.M. Consul of the United Kingdom at Bucharest, R. G. Colquhoun, to H.J.T. Palmerston, Secretary of State of Great Britain concerning the Romanians' state of mind when the Ottoman troops entered and advanced into the Principalities.

Bucharest, August 31st, 1948/September 11, 1848

My Lord,

I have the Honour to annex a Copy of my No. 47 to His Excellency Sir Stratford Canning

By a letter received a few days ago from His Excellency I learn that Fuad Effendi had received additional Instructions immediately before his

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departure from Constantinople, to supersede Suleyman Pasha, whose later dispatches are considered by the Porte, to render it impossible for him to remain in Wallachia without serious embarassement to himself, and the hazard of causing great dissatisfaction to Russia, and consequent vexation to the Porte but that this measure had been adopted without *any feeling of ill will* towards Suleyman Pasha.

Fuad Effendi has I hear arrived at Galatz, where he passes Quarantine, doubtless with intention of conferring with General Duhamel ; and he was expected to be at Giurgevo at this Evening.

The above Intelligence, so alarming to the Liberal Party, has also reached the members of the Government, through their Agent and *other* sources but presented in different shades.

The agitation among the People is very great and some of the popular orators rather increase and inflame this agitation then otherwise, and a feeling that some show of resistance should be made is very general. I had a long conversation yesterday with Mr. Golesco and counselled him to avoid everything which would encourage measures of violence, which would only prove fatal to their true interests. I communicated to him the general tenor of my Dispatches from Sir S. Canning and urged on him the necessity there was that the Chiefs of the Popular Party should defer to the earnest wishes of their Sovereign, who is most anxious to provide for the Interests and future welfare of the Principality, even while compelled do bow before a stern necessity. I pointed out that such deference now would be an additional claim on the Porte, which could not but gratefully acknowledge the forbearance of a People, who, rather than embarrass their Sovereign in a moment of difficulty like the present, should consent to forego for a time, the enjoyment of Privileges they had lately acquired. Mr. Golesco admitting the justice of my remark, observed, that he himself was opposed to any measures of violence, which would only lead to what they most dreaded, a foreign occupation, but that much would depend on the nature of the acts of the new Commissioner whose Instructions, from what he learnt, are to dissolve the present Government appointed by Suleyman Pacha, and to nominate a single Lieutenant or perhaps Prince — but that he did not know whether such appointment would be made solely from the Boyars of the lst Class, as formerly, or whether the Election would be more popular ; if the latter he had little doubt matters might be arranged, particularly if a mere temporary Lieutenant be chosen, with orders to summon a new Chamber under extended Electoral franchise ; that in these circumstances, there might be a hope of a better system bieng followed in Wallachia ; but that if one of the old Boyars, wish all the prejudices of their Class be chosen, it would be useless to hope for any amelioration, while the people irritated at seeing their newly acquired rights wrested from them, would not submit, except to a force, such as must plunge the Country in misery and perhasps bloodshed.

One of the reports current is that the Turkish troops have orders to march from Giurgevo on to the Moldavian frontier at Foxany, and there encamp ; such a measure I should, *under present circumstances*, consider ill judged, as probably likely to lead to a Collision with the Russians.

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No 48. Bucarest 11th September 1848.

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Viscount Palmerston G. C. B.
&c. &c. &c.

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I have the Honor to be,

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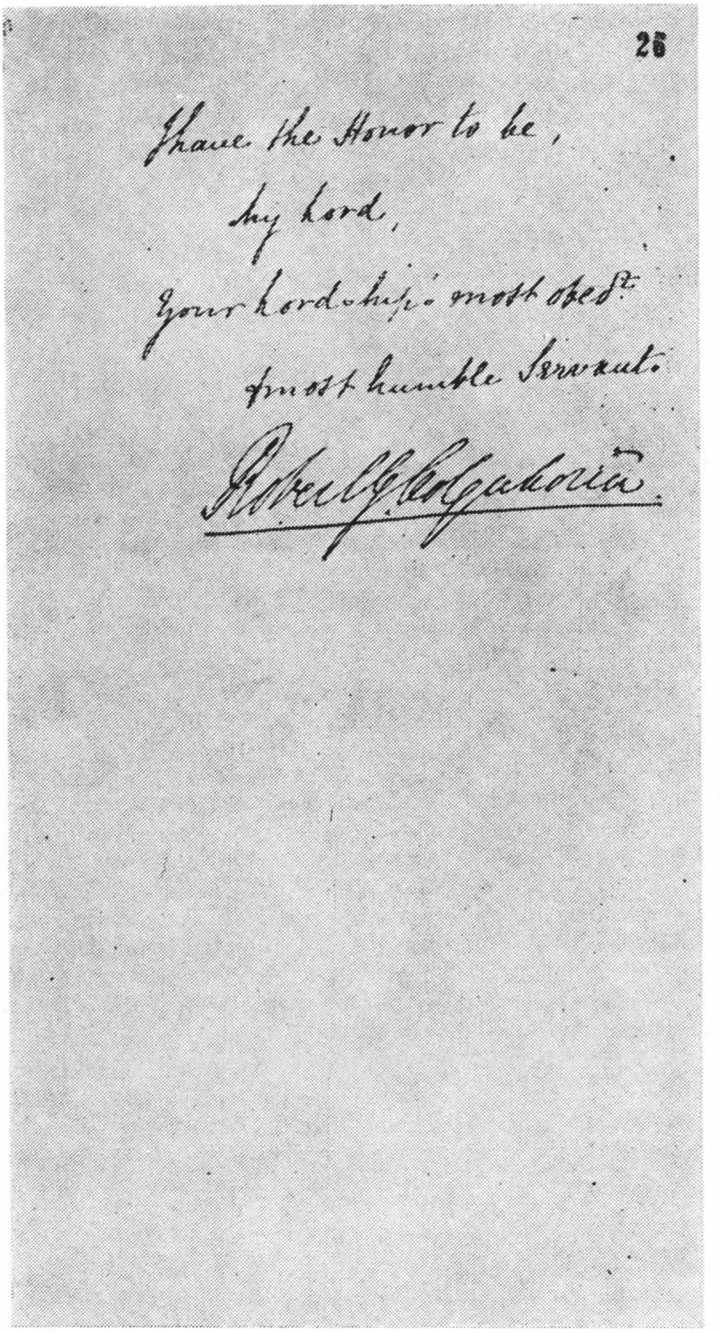

I have the Honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obed^t.

& most humble Servant.

Robert G. Colgaboria

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Omar Pacha, Commander in Chief has received the Rank of Field Marshal — his opinions are well known — the united Turkish forces, those of Giurgevo and Galatz combined must amount to upward of 26,000 men.

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Your Lordships most obedient,
most humble Servant,
Robert G. Colquhoun

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Turkey, F.O. 78, vol. 743, pp. 23—26. English original.

56

1849, April 19/May 1, Balta Liman. Convention between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. concerning the Romanian Principalities, the appointment of princes, the presence of Russian and Turkish commissaries at their courts, and the stationing of occupation troops.

His Imperial Majesty, the Highest and the Most Powerful Emperor and Autocrat of All Russia and the Padishah of the Ottomans, prompted by the same care for the welfare of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, loyal to previous conventions, ensuring to the said Principalities the privilege of a distinct administration and other local immunities, have admitted that, following the troubles which occurred in these provinces, and particularly in Wallachia, it has become necessary to take by mutual agreement special and efficient measures to defend these immunities and privileges, either against some revolutionary and anarchic upheavals, or against some misuse of authority which paralysed the implementation of laws and deprived the peaceful citizens of the benefits of the régime, benefits conferred upon the Principalities to be enjoyed by them on the strength of the solemn treaties concluded between Russia and the Sublime Porte.

To this aim, we, the Signatories of the present Convention, on order of and authorized by His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia and His Highness Reshid Pasha, Great Vizier, and His Excellency Aali-Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte on order of and with special authorization from His Majesty the Sultan, after having discussed and duly agreed, we established and concluded the following articles :

Article I — Given the outstanding circumstances caused by the recent events, the two imperial courts have come to the understanding that instead of following the instructions of the Regulations of 1831 concerning the election of the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, these high officials shall be nominated by His Majesty the Sultan, this time in keeping with special

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instructions which the two courts have agreed upon, with a view to entrusting with the administration of these provinces the most deserving candidates who enjoy the highest reputation among their fellow-countrymen. Only this time again, the two hospodars shall be appointed for only seven years, the two courts reserving themselves the right to take into consideration — a year before the end of the term established under the present treaty — the internal state of affairs in the two Principalities and the services brought by the two hospodars, in order to be able to declare their mutually-agreed opinion on the subsequent decisions.

Article II — The Organic Regulations granted to the Principalities in 1831 remain in force, excepting the alterations and changes thereto, proved necessary by practical experience, particularly those concerning the ordinary and special assemblies of the boyars, their election and composition ; as these assemblies have brought about, more often than not, deploring conflicts and even acts of obvious disobedience, their convention remains outstanding ; the two courts reserve themselves the right to mutually agree on their re-establishment on bases constructed with all the maturity demanded at the moment they would deem that this can be emphasized without prejudice to the maintenance of public order in the Principalities. Their deliberative prerogatives shall be, temporarily, entrusted to councils or ad-hoc divans, formed of the most notable trustworthy boyars and of a certain number of superior clergymen. The main attributions of these councils shall be : tax-rating and the checking of the annual budget in the two provinces.

Article III — In order to proceed with all necessary maturity to organic improvements demanded by the present situation of the Principalities and by the administrative abuses committed, two control committees shall be set up, one in Jassy and another one in Bucharest, formed of the boyars who distinguish themselves by their conduct and capabilities, who shall be entrusted with the mission to control the regulations in force, to print out the most appropriate changes in order to give the country's administration the congruency and unity it often needed.

The work of these committees shall be submitted for examination in the Ottoman Government, which, after having agreed upon with the Court of Russia and established that mutual approval was given, shall grant to the respective alterations their definite sanctioning, which shall be published in customary form and by a hettisherif issued by His Majesty the Sultan.

Article IV — As the upheavals which have seriously troubled the Principalities proved the necessity of granting to their government the military assistance capable to promptly suppress any international movement and to impose the respect for the present authorities, the two Imperial Courts have mutually agreed upon extending the presence of a certain part of the Russian and Ottoman forces occupying the country now, and particularly, with a view to defending the frontiers of Wallachia and Moldavia from accidents from without, it was decided upon leaving there, for the moment being, some 25,000 to 35,000 men for each of the two parties. After restoration of order at the mentioned borders, only 10,000 men shall remain for each part until the completion of the works of organic improvement and consolidation of

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domestic peace in the two provinces. Then, the troops of the two powers shall completely withdraw from the Principalities, but shall stay in the neighbourhoods to be able to go back, in case serious circumstances obtaining in the Principalities would demand such measure. Irrespective of the above, heed shall be granted for the full and undelayed reorganisation of the native militia so that, by its discipline and effectives, it might form sufficient guarantee for maintaining legal order.

Article V — All through the occupation, the two Courts shall have a resident Russian special commissary and a resident Turkish special commissary in the Principalities. These special agents shall be in charge of watching over the state of affairs and of supplying, together, advice to the hospodars, whenever they find out a serious abuse or some measures detrimental to the country's order and peace. The said special commissaries shall be given identical instructions, established by mututal agreement by the two Courts, concerning their duties and authorities in the affairs of the Principalities. Likewise, the two commissaries shall have to mutually agree upon the election of the membres on the control committees to be set up in the Principalities, as stipulated by Article III. They shall report on the work of the committees to their respective Courts and shall add their own remarks.

Article VI — The validity of the present document is settled for a term of seven years, at the end of which, the two Courts reserve themselves the right to appraise the situation of the Principalities by then, and to decide upon subsequent measures they would deem best fit to ensure the long-standing welfare and peace of the two provinces.

Article VII — It stands to reason that the present act, motivated by outstanding circumstances and concluded for a limited term, does neither derogate from the stipulations in force between the two Courts regarding the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the previous treaties, strengthened by the separate act of the Treaty of Adrianople, are fully valid and in force.

The seven preceeding articles being now established and concluded, we have signed the present act, which has been handed over to the Sublime Porte in exchange of the act handed over to us by His Highness the Great Vizier and His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, mentioned above.

Drawn up at Balta Liman on April 19 Mai 1, 1849.

Reshid Paçha
Aali Paçha
Vladimir Titov
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of His Majesty
the Emperor of Russia at the
Ottoman Porte

[Charles Samwer] *Nouveau récueil général de traités.* [...] Continuation [...] par... T. XIV (1845—1852). Gottinque Librairie de Dieterich, 1856, pp. 378—381. French original.

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1849, September 17, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch of the French Consul at Bucharest, Eugène Poujade, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of France on the situation of the Romanians of Transylvania.

Bucharest, September 17, 1849

Dear Sir,

My talks with General Lüders have been in my opinion, most interesting. He proved great charm blended with simple common sense.

. . . . .

Speaking of Transylvania he told me : "Between the Austrians and the Hungarians there reigns deep hatred ; and the latter are equally hated by other peoples who live on the Hungarian territory : Saxons, Serbians, Croatians, Romanians. They have the status of pariahs, in spite of ther forming the majority population in Transylvania. They are the ones who, from the very beginning of the insurrection have supported the Austrian army, and the Russians are right in boasting of the help they got with supplies. From the beginning, if they joined on the side of the Hungarians, the insurrection would have taken an altogether different turn. Similarly, in the correspondence intercepted by me, I have upon letters addressed by Kossuth to Iancu, the leader of the Romanians, in which he said that the Hungarian deeply regretted that had not recognized the right of their Romanian brethren and that in case of victory they could reckon on obtaining the rights they would claim. Romanians deserve all attention ; I have addressed a memorandum in their favour to the Emperor who answered that he could not interfere in that matter, but that he addressed the memorandum to the Court of Vienna. Austria shall be obliged to grant equal rights to the Romanians, but they are on the decline. I think that its intentions are, in fact, to cut off the huge privileges enjoyed by the Hungarians. The Court of Vienna wavers between two plans as Hungary is concerned : either to preserve its status of Kingdom and separate crown or to incorporate it into the general system of Austria and reduce it to one or several provinces of the monarchy".

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Archives Diplomatiques, Correspondance politique des consuls (C.P.C.) Turquie — Bucharest, Vol. 7, pp. 166—167. French original.

58

1849. Study concerning the causes and the development of the Romanian Revolution of 1848, submitted to the attention of French diplomacy.

The Romanian Revolution of June 11/23, last, has been seriously indicted. Thus the circular letter sent by H. M. the Czar of Russia of July 19/31, and whose abilities cannot be denied, describe it as being "the work of a

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riotous minority whose ideas of leadership are mere plagiarism, appropriated from the European democratic and socialist propaganda, whose emissaries have invited the Romanians from Moldavia, Bucovina, Transylvania and even from Bessarabia, to form by revolutionary ways an independent state under the name of "Daco-Romanian Kingdom". Although the events occurred on the banks of the Danube, putting true colours on the policy of the cabinet of Saint Petersburg, have proved how much one may confide in the statements of the Manifesto, nevertheless, Wallachia does not think itself set enough to rights by the conduct of its enemies and comes to the fore, with documents in hands and with its recent wounds still bleending, to offer itself to the judgement of Europe and particularly to that of the suzerain court.

No, it is not true at all, that the Romanian Revolution was imported from abroad, without any other determined cause that the unthoughtful adherance to the revolutionary doctrines of the western countries. It was born on the very soil of Wallachia, on the day when the Russian bayonets had imposed the Organic Regulations upon it. That is not the case now to list the defects of the regulations ; they can be partly read in the petition addressed by the Princely Lieutenancy to His Highness the Sultan, in August last (1). It would be more than enough to recall, that, drawn by a commission chaired by the General Consul of Russia, Minciaki, armed with instructions in this sense, voted by an assembly of boyards whose members had been apropriated directly by Russia, against the country's fundamental law and whose debates cannot be considered free during foreign occupation, the Regulations were the source of all misfortunes, which have ravaged Wallachia for seven years. And could it be otherwise, actuated as it was a legislation which, unsatisfied with violating the country's sovereign rights by its mere origins, it also sanctioned in its essential dispositions the most monstruous anomalies, the most revolting inequalities, and misinterpreted at the same time the spirit and letter of treaties and compelled the nation, declared by them as sovereign in matters of legislation and domestic administration, to recognize alongside with its right to autonomy and even beyond this right, beyond the right of the suzerain power, the authority of the so-called protector power ?

And it was not before long that the country openly voiced its disapproval of an act concluded without its participation and which wounded to such great an extent national susceptibilities. While a minority, qualified as rebel, refused with the price of its life in the Assembly of 1832, to sign the Regulations, the peasants rose up in the countries, in spite of the menace of one hundred Russians bayonets, and tried to oppose the introduction of new taxes and servitutes. Two years after the withdrawal of the troops from the Principalities, the General Assembly of 1837 also composed of boyars alone, protested again, quasi unanimously against several decisions of the Regulations, and particularly against the additional paragraph which formally sanctioned the principle of Russian intervention in the domestic affairs of the Principalities. The protest ended in failure owing to the dissolution of the Assembly and to the orders on exile which Russia obtained by threatening the Divan, and a new party was set up, even more enthusiastic, which, taking into account its despair and the serious circumstances, felt disposed to eschew the legal ways, if need be, with a view to contribute to the salvation of the motherland. A first conspiration took place in 1840. Prevented and suppressed in

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time by numerous arrests, it increased and at the same time stirred the country's hopes, revealing them, to say so, to itself. Russia took advantage of this frame of mind to cause the birth of a new coalition, which led to the fall of Prince Ghica, who, once in his lifetime, had had the ill-luck to fail to displease to it. Any renewal or reign is received with great hope by the oppressed peoples. Often, naturally, the remedy is worse than the disease, nevertheless, as the effects of a new reign can't be felt immediately, a short stop is put to servitutes, while the country can find a little time to breathe. The National Party cherished hopes for better days and openly sided with of the new prince George Bibescu in order to obtain a revision in keeping with the laws under the Organic Regulations.

Unfortunately, illusions didn't last for long, just after a couple of years had elapsed, the disease they thought had come to its worse limits under the previous administration, broke out hundred times worse. The peasant, attached to the land by new barriers raised to his right of free movement, the country's mines put at the disposal of Russian exploitation, disorganisation of all public services, speculation of finances, disuse of the national language in higher education, denounced Bibescu as a secret agent of the Russian policy and as the declared enemy of the reforms whose defender they had believed him to be. A mute agitation started in the country and the prince, whose actions seemed to be prompted and controlled by an invisible hand, carried on and through, as a matter of fact, beyond any limit by his impetuous nature, upset by the opposition he felt around him, instead of calming down the popular resentment by a sincere resumption of a more nationally-minded policy and by initiating measures stringently demanded by the country, seemed to have assumed the task to aggravate the situation to the utmost. Illegal arrests, the total annihilation of the press, violation of domicile and of the secret of correspondence, all sort of vexations, refusal to grant passports for travelling abroad and even within the country's borders, everything leading to crisis was fatally resorted to.

Things went so far that the Porte fearing a general movement of the Principalities sent a commissary to ascertain the state of affairs and prevent, if possible, the blow-out presaged here and expected elsewhere too. The National Party which aimed at regenerating and not at revolutionizing the country, took advantage of this opportunity to propose new reforms within legal and peaceful limits, which solely could ensure the success by offering no pretext whatsoever to their opponents ; and the party submitted to this aim to the envoy of the Sublime Porte, Tala'at Effendi a memorandum in which the Romanians, after having shown their dissatisfaction with the Organic Regulations, made known from the beginning the main points which had to be reformed. What brilliant proof of its respects towards the Sublime Porte could the National Party better show off or its intentions to maintain the Principalities' state vassalage to the Ottoman Empire, when it loyally appealed to the suzeraim Court, asking, more or less, for approval in matters of domestic legislation, where the country is by virtutes of treaties its sole judge ? As a matter of fact, H. E. Tala'at Effendi rendered much justice to the authors of the memorandum. A couple of weeks had been sufficient enough for him to realize the justice of the claims submitted to him and the excessive misery into which Prince Bibescu's administration had led the country. He

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promised to inform the Government of all this, in his sincere wish he stated, to keep their rights intact and to ensure their happiness, and then, he left for Jassy (April 1848).

Tala'at Effendi's departure gave free rein to the plottings and intrigues of the Russian Commissary, General Duhamel, whose commission in the Principalities, preceding by only a few days the Ottoman's Commissary arrival, was mainly aimed at making Europe still believe that there allegedly existed an agreement and an identity of views between the suzerain Court and the socalled protector Court, as if views might coincide where interests are diametrically opposed. Mr. Duhamel, to whom the National Party refused to address itself, denying Russia's right to legally interfere in the countr'y internal affairs, saw, at his great displeasure, that matters progressed towards a friendly understanding, and he did his utmost in order to break an agreement which, by turning the question of the Principalities into a private, so to say, matter between the latter and the suzerain Court left the protector court totally out of discussion. Moreover, as several boyars, since long attached to Russia, but who, by virtue of numerous tokens of attachment provided by them, considered themselves entitled to be listened by Russia's representative, decided to point out to him some of the country's evils, prompted not so much by compassion for their homeland's misfortune, but with a view to satisfying their personal ambitions and out of hatred for Prince Bibescu. Mr. Duhamel answered them roughly : "I did not come here to listen to the country's troubles, but in order to supply moral and even material assistance to the Prince". Or, such manner of speaking by H. M. the Czar of Russia's commissary to some people whose intentions were beyond suspicion, in front of a half rebelled country, this impertinent defiance of the people's endurance and patience, this impunity, and advance warranty of all extreme measures which a prince, already lenient for violent measures, could take, this threat of stifling right by force, did not mean to appeal to insurrection making impossible any agreement between the Prince and his subjects already exhausted by his despotism, already at the end of their tether ?

This is the context of an event, regrettable for several reasons, and towards which Russia would have been more condescending if it had met its own interests. We should like to speak about the attempt made at the Prince's life on June 9/21, two days before the revolution, and for which H. M. the Czar's manifesto tried in vain to lay the responsibility to the National Party's charge, as if parties might be responsible for private crimes perpetrated in their name. Or, on what proofs can such an accusation be brought ? On the grounds of the saying that a crime was committed by he to whom the crime was best profitable ? Then, is it not among the victims of September 15/27 that the party to the June 9/21 crime should be sought ? And, if lack of positive proof let one see in connection with this fact, most regrettable — we repeat, nothing more than an isolated crime, alien to politics may be, is it not strange that one dares to lay the blame at the door of the very people, who for the three months during which they had been governing the country, they had proved to be generous up to rashness, humane and disinterested up to self-oblivion ?

Be that as it may, the crisis, was inevitable anyway. Prince Bibescu, yielding in to a quite legitimate resentment, but which might have had its

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natural outcomes moderated by a wise policy, recoupled his severe measures. Arrests grew in number, black lists were drawn up, everything around looked like the eve of a revolution. Agitation did not limit itself to townspeople, it expanded to the peasants at the countryside, whose awareness of their own status was growing with every passing day and the example of Transylvania where corvées had been abolished made them even more anxious and worried about their condition.

At the same time an obscure propaganda made the peasants believe that the Prince was the first to wish thier emancipation, and that the landlords were opposing his intentions. Such opinion, if accredited, might lead to dreaded consequences and to massacres similar to those occured in Galicia in 1846. To stay inactive before such prospects would have been a crime to the homeland, to mankind as o whole. The National Party placed itself in the van of the movement.

So, the day of June 11/23 came, when arrests were made, as I have already said. These arrests had unfortunately touched, among the people suspected of patriotism, those who where personally devoted to the Prince and who had not stopped warning him up to the last moment. Other ran away. Agitation reigned in Bucharest all over. Being informed a day before that the villages in Lesser Wallachia, inhabited by the strongest and most warlike section of the Romanian Society, were in full insurrection, G. Bibescu left, in the morning, to the place where the army and the militia troops have been called upon his order, and after having reviewed them, he delivered a speech he tried to make as passionate as possible and in which he asked in conclusion if he could rely on their support in case the rebels would set out against the capital. The answer was prompt, but ferm and respectful, as soldiers and citizens ought to be : "If we have to draw the sword against Romania's enemies, we shall be ready to follow you", they answered in a body, "but we shall never fight against our brethren who wish only good to us and to the country". The Prince returned dismayed at the palace, whereto the people rushed in great numbers waving the national flag, and shouting : "Long live the Prince ! Long live the Constitution !" This Constitution, whose name was uttered, then, for the first time, was nothing else than a 22-point programme, which the people submitted to the prince for endorsement, and, which, once accepted by him, had to form the grounds for the new reforms. Here are, as a matter of fact, the twenty-two articles :

Article 1 : Administrative and legislative independence based on the treaties between Mircea and Vlad V and guaranted by article 5 under the Treaty of Adrianople.
Article 2 : Equal civil and political rights.
Article 3 : General contribution equally shared by all social classes.
Article 4 : General assembly composed of the representatives of all social classes.
Article 5 : A responsible head of state, elected for five years from among all the citizens' classes.
Article 6 : Reduction of the civil list.
Article 7 : Responsibility of the ministers and of all public clerks, in the limits of their attributions.
Article 8 : Freedom of the press.

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Article 9 : All rewards [to be] given in the name of the homeland by its representatives.
Article 10 : Election of local judges by counties and communes.
Article 11 : National guard.
Article 12 : Emancipation of monasteries dedicated to holy places.
Article 13 : Leasing of a plot of land to the peasants for a compensation to the landlords.
Article 14 : Abolition of serfdom, for a state compensation *.
Article 15 : Romanian chargé d'affaires at the Sublime Porte.
Article 16 : General and free education for all Romanians of both sexes.
Article 17 : Abolition of titles without functions.
Article 18 : Abolition of corporal punishment.
Article 19 : Abolition of capital punishment.
Article 20 : Organisation of jails, so that after detention, criminals return improved to society.
Article 21 : Emancipation of Jews and granting of political rights to all naturalized citizens, irrespective of their faith.
Article 22 : Immediate summoning of a Constitutent Assembly meant to elaborate a Constitution grounded on the preceding articles, and submitted to the people's unanimous approval, and more than that, to establish a legal control system with the help of special assemblies, convened each fifteen years.

Thus, it is not at all a final constitution, but a mere statement of principles, which without sanctioning them, laid the grounds of a new organisation. If it sanctions the people's sovereignty in all matters of internal legislation and administration, it does not deny the prince's initiative which belongs to him in his capacity of elected representative of the nation and does not withdraw any of his prerogatives. The Prince did, in fact, understand this, for he signed, after short hesitation, but freely and of his own will, the act he was submitted for signature. At the same time he formed a new cabinet, made up of personalities hailed by all the Bucharesters, gathered in front of the palace, and whose names were dear to the people and devoted both to order and to progress.

Everything seemed clear and accomplished and the first act of the revolution would have been the last if the Prince had trusted the country to the same extent the country had trusted its head. May we recall the terms of the letter addressed on July 8, last, by the Provisional Government of Wallachia, to the Executive Power Committee of the French Republic. "Prince Bibescu seemed to have joined by goodfaith the movement, which had carried him, so to say, in spite of himself, into this revolution, so calmly carried out in less than three hours, and which exercised its prestige over those people who had proved reluctant to his principle until then ; the new order of things found advocates there where it expected to find foes, trust revived, when on June 12/24, the General Consul of Russia thought it proper to protest against the acts which had taken place and withdrew at Moldavia's borders, to wait there for the troops of his Lord, the Czar, which according

* i.e. damages paid by the state.

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to him had already crossed the Prut. The rumour of his menaces vanished among the people's acclamations. Nevertheless, the nation instinctively warned of the danger, rallied even much closer around its head to assure him and if need be, to defend him. Then, Prince Bibescu scared by the iminent danger, sent in his abdication to the Council of Ministers and quitted the capital, leaving the country masterless, one day after the revolution, without a standing government at home, at the mercy of events which might occur at every moment from the outside. It was a critical moment, undoubtedly, but a generous nation which sincerely desires to gain liberty finds resources in itself to cope with the situation. They resorted to an interregnum with the help of an executive commission, made up in its greatest majority of the members of the last government, under the chairmanship of His Beatitude the Metropolitan. This commission took up the office relinquished by the Prince, assuming the name of „provisional government" to itself.

Thus, the Romanian revolution was not the work of a couple of rebels ; immediately, in one of the most critical moments the government had to withstand, I saw the entire country rising up in its defence. It was not staged up like a scenery ; the history of the past seventeen years had proved it full of smouldering spirits and heralding, with muffled roars, the future blow-up. And if we cannot but admit that the tremor transmitted to the European soil by the revolution of February 24 was of a nature to contribute to the acceleration of the blow-up, neither can we affirm that it was its necessary, unique, essential condition, without mistaking the opportunity of a fact for its real cause. It might have led to the revolution but it was not able to produce it.

These are thus the origins of the revolution of June 11/23, and now let us see its acts and in spite of what it accomplished let us judge its aims.

The first concern of the Provisional Government was to formally inform the Sublime Porte and the principal European cabinets about the changes performed by it. In fact nothing had been changed, the nation had just altered the internal administration by virtue of the autonomy recognized under the capitulations with the Porte and Article 5 under the Treaty of Adrianople, the relations between the suzerain and the vassal were left unchanged and so were Wallachia's political relationships with the neighbouring states. At the same time, the Provisional Government stated its decision to limit itself — as Russia was concerned — to the very content of the treaties and not to recognize it any more as the protector of the Principalities in the special meaning it had since long been giving to the word, but to consider it under the same title as the other powers which maintained friendship relations with Turkey and which had guaranted the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

In expectation of the Sublime Porte's answer and of the stand taken by Russia, the Provisional Government thought it proper to meet the most urgent requirements of the situation. It ignored neither the magnitude of the evil which had to be redreassed, nor the inefficiency of its resources, the difficulties which added up to the present an uncertain future. Nevertheless, it set to work, getting the good citizens to assist it.

And it got this assistance : a loyal, preventive, unanimous assistance, indeed. It made itself more conspicuous on the occasion of two unhappy attempts of the counter-revolution of June 19/July 1 and June 29/July 11,

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when the people did justice immediately. Thus, the day after the Provisional Government had had the alternative of causing violent suppressive measures offering the pretext for foreign intervention or of temporarily leaving the capital with a view to grant the nation a respite to find its way and manifest its supreme wish, it made the decision to withdraw to the mountains, more than fifty thousand inhabitants, priests, craftsmen, landlords, headed spontaneously for the capital, preceded by a deputation formed of the main merchants of the capital and obliged the Lieutenancy formed a day before according to the decisions of the Organic Regulations to dissolve itself and call the Provisional Government back. What better proof of national will than that 24-hour lieutenancy and the return, the next day, on June 31/July 1, of the Provisional Government carried shoulderhigh to the capital? Of course, had the revolution — launched less than the three weeks ago — been the work of a rebel and corrupt minority, this was the best opportunity for the healthy, intelligent majority which was devoted to the country, to take its revenge. The new government was dissolved, in some way, the country left at its own judgements again did submit to its own impulses alone, and if it were dissatisfied with the leaders it had elected, it would have been its own business to leave them go away. But it confirmed its election by calling them back.

Several weeks elapsed in perfect peace at home, but without safe news from abroad. The Provisional Government took advantage of this respite to issue decrees on the most urgent administrative measures, and appointed also committees entrusted with advancing a draft constitution in keeping with Article 22 of the Declaration of Rights. But soon, the publication of the Czar of Russia's Manifesto on July 19/31 rose the alarm of a future invasion of Russian troops, which had already occupied Moldavia; and almost at the same time the news came of the presence at Ruschuk, on the right bank of the Danube of an army corps of 24,000 Turks, placed at the disposal of H. E. Suleyman Pasha, envoy extraordinary of the Sublime Porte in the Principalities. Indeed, the Turkish troops crossed the Danube on July 21/ August 2 and camped on the other bank, at a distance of three quarters of a mile from Giurgiu, while Suleyman Pasha did not deign to let Bucharest know about the nature of his mission or about the subsequent intentions of his government. Or, this fact alone, in spite of any observance of the Guarantor regulations to which the envoy of the suzerain court had stated he would submit himself, namely, the entrance of a corps of Ottoman troops into the Romanian territory, without previous declaration, was a flagrant violation of the rights of the Principalities, guaranted both under their old capitulations with the Porte and under the more recent treaties between the Porte and Russia. Nevertheless, the Provisional Government, refusing to see an act of declared hostility in a measure which the Porte might regretfully have approved of, sent its foreign minister to meet with the imperial commissionary, who protesting, naturally, against the violation of the Romanian territory by the Imperial armies, did not hesitate to use phrases going from "the mislead Porte" to "the better informed Porte", assuring again H. E. Suleyman Pasha of the Romanians' attachment to, and inviolable confidence in, the suzerain court. We reproduce below word by word the protest of the Provisional Government presented to H. E. Suleyman Pasha:

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"The Romanians have never debased themselves by wearing the mask of duplicity, and therefore God has always been on their side. We are not afraid of telling our Majestic Suzerain, open-heartedly, bravely and confidently with our conscience alone that dictates us : there is no article to attack foreign powers, no article to deny our right to demand and to execute, as long as God is in Heavens and justice on Eearth.

Thus we ask Your Excellency to be so kind and intercede for us with His Highness the Sultan, whose justice is of utmost help. Implore him, in the name of all Romania, which speaks through the voice of its representatives, not to desert his devoted and loyal friends by depriving them of their rights. They cannot live without this Constitution which the Heavens have bestowed upon them to consolidate their Constitution, their hopes and dreams of happiness altogether, this Constitution which they are entitled to wait for to soothe them for their long-enduring sufferings".

This communication was left without a formal answer by the Imperial Commissary ; H. E. Suleyman Pasha seemed to persist in not recognizing the government created by the revolution of June 11 23 and in seeing in the same revolution, by some clauses he had approved of, an injury caused to the Porte's suzeranity. This point of view, so to say, official, adopted by the Porte in examining the question, came out in bold relief a couple of days later, on July 15/31, in the letter addressed by H. E. Suleyman Pasha to the boyars and notabilities of Bucharest.

Gentlemen, Your Honours,

It is a matter of wide knowledge that Wallachia, an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, has never ceased to enjoy numerous advantageous institutions and privileges ; the Wallachians, instead of being grateful for this philanthropy, instead of industriosly contributing to the maintenance of the country's order and peace, particularly under the present circumstances, have dared of late to perpetrate illegal acts, very badly thought by the Sublime Porte.

A certain number of people, who call themselves Romanians, came all of a sudden in this principality, allured the country's militia, overthrew the government and then, took advantage of this opportunity to impose upon the Prince, under the name of new institutions, inadmissible conditions so that the Prince (sic !), unable to put up resistance to violence and finding himself in danger, was obliged, even forced (sic !) to leave his princely residence. Then, the same people, took advantage of the new situation favouring their views, had the boldness to set up a new illegal administration under the name of the Provisional Government to replace the legitimate one constituted and committed to the care of the above-mentioned Prince Bibescu by His Majesty the Sultan. These acts are not only incompatible with the rights of suzeranity and with the governing principles of the Sublime Porte, but they are also of a nature to lead to all sort of innovations contrary to the maintenance, of order and of peace in the country ; it is thus quite obvious that this situation cannot but engender internal disorder and as such, inevitably be disastrous to the country. His Majesty the Sultan, our august sovereign, further prompted by fatherly feelings for the happiness of all the strata of his subjects and provide brilliant proof thereof to the Wallachians, sent to this prin-

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cipality, in advance, a commissary, specially in charge of advising on the means of restoring order and peace. Unfortunately, the Wallachians, without waiting the happy result of the measures the Sublime Porte planned to take, went unthoughtfully astray, and, committing acts of nefarious consequences, assumed serious responsibilities. Nevertheless, His Majesty the Sultan, our gracious sovereign with a view to provide a new proof of his well-known mercy and generosity, and in order not to cast the people's mass into despair owing to the troubles produced by a couple of revolutionary spirits, deemed it proper to specially commission me with the task of advising and inviting you to resume, first and foremost, the path of subjection, or otherwise (sic !) if this peaceable way meets your opposition, I shall most regretfully resort to constraint.

The main aim of my mission is to clearly let you know that the furthering of this situation, established against the rights of suzeranity and the governing principles of His Majesty the Sultan, being not tolerable any more, the Provisional Government, illegally formed in the Principalities, should be dissolved immediately ; a trustworthy person must be appointed without delay as lieutenant, in keeping with the instructions of the Organic Regulations to the position vacated by the Prince Bibescu ; everything which was arbitrarily established and promulgated in the country under the name of new institutions is considered from this very moment, null and void ; if the country in brought in this way to its former status, the grounded claims you shall be able to advance shall be taken into account as for instance the claims against the incomplete implementation of the Organic Regulations, against the Prince's administration or any other abuse which might be against the benevolant views and the feelings of justice which His Majesty the Sultan has never ceased to show to all those who knew how to deserve them. If a deputation formed of several people elected by you comes and presents on behalf of the country, a list of dissatisfactions of this nature, and if they are well-grounded, efficient measures shall be taken in this sense ; but, if on the contrary, in spite of all these moderate means quoted by me, you shall persist in keeping the country in this false situation and in following the arbitrary system, I shall not refrain from penetrating deep into the country with the armed forces I have at my disposal, as a last means of fulfilling His Imperial Majesty's orders and I shall act in keeping with the circumstances. By explaining to you, gentlemen, the various degrees of my mission, I am convinced from the very beginning that the last resolution of His Imperial Majesty is in harmony with the principles of equity and moderation and that your caution and wisdom would lead you undoubtedly on the road of sapience and salvation and that you would thus, most gratefully follow, the fatherly advice I have been instructed to give you and I do give them to you on behalf of our majestic sovereign.

It is thus my duty to openly warn you to address, first and foremost, to me a petition signed by you, which should contain the act of your submission, to be immediately sent to the Sublime Porte. You might also send to me several men of note to explain your dissatisfaction, you deem right and well grounded, so that I might in my turn inform the Porte about them.

July 19/31, in the Imperial Camp
(signed) Suleyman Pasha

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By this letter which I copied ad literam from the original, drawn up in too rough terms to be the true expression of the sentiments and intentions of the Sublime Porte, H. E. Suleyman Pasha asked, as one can see, for the immediate dissolution of the Provisional Government, and the re-inforcement of the Organic Regulations — exaggerated, inadmissible pretentions, which obviously exceeded the rights, and undoubtedly, the intentions of the Sublime Porte. The members of the Provisional Government did not give two hoots to private questions, but could not do the same with the matters of principle. If our names are suspected by the suzerain court, they said, we are ready to withdraw, but by withdrawing, we protest against the resumption of the old state of affairs. It was clear that the nation could admit the dismissal of the people brought to power by its own suffrage, only if this conciliating measure could be considered as an act of condescendence and not as a denial of its right.

This was the mainly the sense of the answer given to H. E. Suleyman Pasha, on behalf of boyars and of the notabilities, by the commission appointed from their ranks. But, during these talks, Suleyman Pasha had time enough to convince himself of the truthfulness of the statements made by the commission ; a severe, but impartial, inquiry into the events which preceeded and followed the day of June 11/23, left no doubt of the opportunity, if not of the legality, from the point of view of the suzerain Court, of the initiative taken by the nation on that day ; he gave up the original severe tone, and as the Provisional Government had consented to withdraw with the reserves mentioned above, H. E. Suleyman Pasha, recognized, on behalf of his Government, the new Princely Lieutenancy, elected by the people in his place, and had it recognized by the consuls of the foreign powers on August 8/20. The country could consider itself saved, the name of the Sultan was blessed by entire Wallachia and that of his envoy began to be pronounced with admiration and respect. Several days later, a deputation was sent to convey to Constantinople the 22-point draft Constitution, which the Princely Lieutenancy admitted to alter in various places, not as a restriction to its right to autonomy, but as a gesture of deference towards the Sublime Porte. What was happening in Constantinople in the meantime ? And what explanation can be provided for the Divan's refusal to receive the deputation coming from Bucharest at the formal invitation of its plenipotentiary, and even the recall of this plenipotentiary, closely followed by the appointment of a new commissary, Fuad Efendy ? An excerpt from the memorandum handed over by the Romanian deputies to Reshid Pasha, Vizier and H. E. Ali Pasha, Foreign Minister and passed to the Ambassadors of France and England, may serve as an explanation of this rather obscure facet of the question :

"As the Sublime Porte persists in its refusal to recognize the Wallachian deputation, and by sending a new commissary to the Principalities, whose appointment implies the formal denial of his predecessor's actions, she imparts to its policy oscillations which would form the object of Europe's amazement, and and the same time a cause of grief for the faithful vassals of the Empire, for it is of a nature to weaken the ties they had strived to strengthen, it is a measure which we cannot approach and discuss upon, and whose consequences have been surely well and maturely analyzed by the Imperial Divan, in its high wisdom, we would like to ask Your Highness to be so kind and

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allow us to point out the probable, infaillible consequences, particularly as Wallachia is concerned. Your Highness knows quite well that the top political consequences hardly reach the masses. How can we make them understand, for instance, that once the sovereignty of the Porte is covered, as it had actually been, by the dissolution of the Provisional Government and the acceptance simply and solely of all the conditions imposed by the H. E. Suleyman Pasha, the Sublime Porte is not free any more to respect the pledges taken on its behalf by its plenipotentiary ? How can one explain to them this contradiction of the most equitable and most generous Sultan of all, who imposes the reorganization of the most backward populations of the Empire on the one hand, and who permits, on the other, the development, in the most advanced province on the road of progress, of a situation on a par with the barbarity sweeping the dawns of time, the equal of which has been vainly looked for in the rest of Europe ?

How can one possibly know, unfamiliar as he is with the rather strange complications of policy, incapable to understand that there where there is domination there can be no power, surprised to meet Russia as the judge of a cause which he submits to the tribunal of the Porte, to what excesses the people can be driven at when they see that the old state of affairs has been re-installed without bringing about the consolation and comfort they hoped for, but in a more terrible, merciless and oppressive form than in the past, as the memory of the recent Lieutenancy was outlining. Let us suppose and we would like to believe it, that the Wallachians stifling their murmurs, would be ready to yield in to the demands of the epoch and of the circumstances. Your Highness thinks that Russia might be satisfied with an issue which, in spite of striking a deadly blow to the authority of the Porte in the Principalities, would procrastinate the pretentions it does not conceal any more, and would move off even farther for some time at least, the coveted victim which it thinks to have already caught ? This can be true, if one forgets its recent plottings at Galaţi, its attempts at inciting the Greeks against the Turks, the extraordinary efforts it had made to produce trouble in the Principalities, in order to find some justifications for its interventions and kindle a movement which would have more easily blown up in the conditions of the advance of the Imperial troops upon Bucharest and which would lead the country into ruin to the detriment of the suzerain court and to the benefit of the protector court".

This memorandum has been left, as it should be, answerless, the deputation came back in Bucharest on September 11, as H. E. Suleyman Pasha returned to Constantinople carrying with him the wishes and the regrets of all-Wallachia and, a couple of days later, the Ottoman army, after leaving the Giurgiu camp, rushed towards the capital on order of H. E. Fuad Effendi. Events came tumbling rapidly one upon another and proved that the Porte was not the sole participant in the debates and that Russia's shadow extended over unhappy Wallachia. Indeed, General Duhamel felt so much at home in the camp of the Sultan's envoy as if he were amidst his own soldiers, waiting for the Czar's troops, which started a receding action beyond the Siret, to resume their original positions and surpass them. On the other hand, His Highness Fuad Efendy, by a conduct very much alien to the impartiality and spirit of conciliation shown by his predecessor, and striving at the same time

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to attract the few boyars who had left the country after the revolution of June 11/23, stubbornly refused to receive the deputations coming from Bucharest to convey the people's wishes and desires — the last being headed by the Metropolitan himself and by high clergymen — and continued his advance through the country, less as a pacification and more as a conqueror. On Monday, September 13/25, he suddenly appears at the capital's barriers at head of the imperial troops. There, without paying any attention to the protests of the Princely Lieutenancy which, even if admitting the right of the Porte to appoint and dismiss at its own will the heads of state, was *de jure* and *de facto* the legal government of the Principality, as long as it was not legally dissolved by the same powers which had constituted it, he summoned to his camp, through the agency of the Metropolitan, a deputation of boyars and notabilities, in order to read them the firman he was fetching from the Porte. The deputation, formed of about 250 members, gathered at the established place and listened to the desires of the Sublime Porte, expressed by Fuad Effendi in the following terms :

Gentlemen,

A revolution inspired by the communist ideas repelled and triumphantly defeated by the entire continent nowadays, has broken out here. It disturbed the peaceful security you had enjoyed due to the national institutions granted to you by the Sublime Porte.

The principles of this revolution are utterly contrary to the nature of the institutions established in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire and prejudicial both to the sovereign rights of our majestic monarch and to the political relationships of the Porte with Russia, which His Highness is willing to preserve in their whole integrity.

Your legislations shall never be improved if they are born out of revolutionary disorder and by carrying passions away.

Thus, legal order should be first restored and the last trace of your revolution wiped away. This is the supreme and unshattered decision of His Highness the Sultan, our common master.

By complying with this decision, you shall deserve his august clemency while by persisting in not recognizing your duties of loyal subjects as you are, you shall incur the effects of his righteous hand.

Inhabitants of Wallachia, it is the fatherly voice of your Sovereign, which speaks to you now : vest all your trust in his love for you and do not lend an ear to delusive promises if you wish to find the happiness you are deprived of now in the situation obtaining in your homeland.

His Highness the Sultan, with a view to give the required force to your country's administration decided to replace the three-member Lieutenancy stipulated by the Organic Regulations by a single person who shall fulfil the duties of this Lieutenancy. To this aim I have chosen, on behalf of the Sultan, Logothete Constantin Cantacuzino, who recommends himself through the high esteem he enjoys and by his well-known for regular establishments.

The Logothete, assisted by my advices and by those given by Duhamel, entrusted with full power and authority by H.M. the Czar of Russia, shall nominate a provisional government formed of the best country's men and

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shall loyally fulfil your Sultan's orders. The presence of the Imperial army, which came to Wallachia to maintain legal order, provides sufficient guarantee for domestic peace. H.E. Omar Pasha, General Commander of the Imperial Army, shall be the provisional military governor of the city of Bucharest. The country's police and militia shall stay at His Excellency's orders.

Boyars, go back to your homes, come close to my side and help me restore order and peace in the country. This is the work I have been instructed to accomplish, the work we all wish to see carried out.

Priests and servants of God, it is your duty to preach union and submission ! Strive to fulfil your duties towards God, towards the human beings !

Merchants and craftsmen ! your country's laws have protected you until now, it is your duty, and your own interest to be a model of submission to the country's legal order.

Villagers ! Go back to your fields to till the land, this land which had been the source of happiness for your parents and still is for you and for your own children. Let the care for soothing your sufferings in the fatherly hands of your government !

Drawn up at the General Headquarters in Bucharest, 1848, September 13/25.

Signed : Referee of the Imperial Divan
Fuad Effendi, Imperial
Commissary in the Principalities

If compared to the letter read a month before on order of H.E. Suleyman Pasha to the boyars and notabilities of Bucharest, the present one is a precious document where Russia's hand can be detected from A to Z. The deputies realized that the cause of the revolution was lost. Nevertheless, with the exception of ten boyars, they tried a last effort. Recalling all the tokens of submission which the country has offered to the Sublime Porte for three months, and the rights of the Principalities always recognized by it, they vehemently protested against the re-establishment of the Organic Regulations, and as the commissary seemed willing not to take it into account, they asked him to report for the last time to his government of their wish, holding him, in case of refusal responsible for the possible consequences of resorting to force in the present circumstances. Indeed, more than forty citizens, craftsmen, bourgeois, townguilds with their banners hoisted up, peasants from the villages preceeded by their priests carrying the cross, people of all standing and age, heterogenously grouped in the limited space they had between the Turkish camp and the city they surrounded like a live wall, seemed to look forward to grasp opportunity, not to put up vain resistance, but to voice their last and solemn protest at the threshold of their violated homes and rights. Fuad Effendi, in return, surrounded the deputation with his troops and sending away the boyars who had accepted the Regulations under escort, he confined the rest of the deputation in the Cotroceni Monastery, wherefrom it could be set free after five days to be conveyed to the Turkish frontier.

A few hours later, the imperial troops marched upon Bucharest, with bayonets fixed to the muzzles, with guns ready to shoot, after having dispersed by horse gallop the unarmed peasants who fell to their kness in front of the soldiers offering their bare chests to the sword blades and mixing up

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shouts of "Long live the Sultan !" with "Long live the Constitution !" After taking the city the troops grouped themselves into various detachments which were given the order to occupy the military barracks and the main institutions, as for instance the General Consulate of Russia, turned soon into a genuine fortress. The Princely Lieutenancy persisted up to the last moment in sticking to the line of conduct it had set for itself, and, wishing to prevent at any price a conflict whose consequences could be foreseen, it cleared Bucharest of all troops and left only 500 soldiers of Regiment 2, confined to barracks to defend a capital city with a population of 120,000 people. By 3 o'clock, a Turkish detachment under Kerim Pasha's command came in front of the barracks and challenged its colonel to remove his troops. The five hundred men were arranged in fighting position in the background with their weapons unloaded. The Colonel ordered his troops to present arms to the Turks, but refused to deliver the barracks without his superior's order. During the talks, the Turks stroke the first blow at a firemen company on the march, who advanced to join the militiamen, and this sudden attack was followed by a devastating battle, in spite of all the efforts made by the Princely Lieutenancy to prevent it.

This event — described in different ways, but which we reported as accurately as we could according to the evidence supplied by eye-witnesses, gathered through the good offices of the General Consul of His Britannic Majesty — worsened the exasperation of the Ottoman troops and in the evening, Bucharest, at least the isolated quarters, or those in the immediate vicinity of the posts occupied by the Turks, offered the picture of as assaulted city.

The same day, the Princely Lieutenancy protested against those odious acts. Another protest, drawn up in most severe terms, and covered by thousands of signatures, was addressed by the inhabitants of Bucharest to H.E. Fuad Effendy, the following day.

This is in brief the story of the day of 13/23 September, not so sad in point of the blood-shed, but for its consequences, which, we should say, had not been estimated by His Highness' envoy. Indeed, the next day, although apparently all troubles had ceased, Bucharest was declared in a state of siege and set under the command of Omar Pasha, general-in-chief of the Imperial Army, Mr. Constantin Cantacuzino was installed as head of the Lieutenancy, and in this way the Princely Lieutenancy was, in fact, dissolved, which until then had refused to leave the governmental palace, where it had declared itself in office, until the order of discontinuance of activity. Two days later (September 28), general Lüders, crossed the Siret at head of the Russian vanguard. At last, on October 10, Mr. Duhamel reported to the representative of the suzerain court that he had militarly occupied the Principalities on order of his Sovereign, the Czar. Fuad Effendi, surprised by the unwanted issue, but which he had produced as a matter of fact, tried to protest, but he had his trouble for nothing : the occupation of the Principalities by Russia was an accomplished fact.

When recalling with sympathy these painful scenes, it was not my intention to embitter resentments, which we would like to see wiped out for good, and neither would we hold only the Sublime Porte or even its representative responsible for a mistake which, undoubtedly they were the first

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to regret. God would not like it at all ! But we wish to prove to both our friends and foes that the liberal movement of June 11/23 was not stifled by its own excesses, as our oppressors would try to make people believe, and if Russia's yoke weighs heavier than ever over the shoulders of our unfortunate country, we do not deserve the reproach of having called it here. Mistakes had been possible, and who knows it better than we do ? But is our cause less justified then, and less worthy of the sympathy shown by liberal and Christian Europe ? Too much severity would turn into unjustice, as a matter of fact. It was not people that were not enough, but people lacked time.

Although our intention is far of presenting the rejection of the Russian Czar's Manifesto of July 19 31 (we refer again to the answer already given to it by the Princely Lieutenancy) we cannot hush two prints, with which the St. Petersburg Cabinet would like to vindicate its intervention by appealing to the right to self-defence. These are the two points I have mentioned at the beginning, the first referring to an alleged agreement between the Wallachian populations of Turkey, Austria and even of Russia with a view to building Romanian unity, and the second concerning the socialist and communist doctrines, in the names of which, the Bucharest revolution had allegedly been made and which the Provisional Government would have liked to see them applied in the country. The first blame breaks down of its own if one considers that the movements which have swept over Wallachia this year as well as Wallachia's neighbouring places, between which the St. Petersburg Cabinet unjustify pretends to establish a direct correlation, have been successive and not simultaneous. In fact, it is easily understood that even their origins and causes differed : which also is of a nature to invalidate Russia's argument. Thus the Moldavian movement of March 28, caused by the hatred against Prince Sturdza, dit not go beyond the alteration of certain facts of the Organic Regulations, which the Wallachian revolution, broken out three month later, wanted to abolish completely, while the movement of Transylvania and Banat was undeniably aimed against Hungarian oppression, and proved an altogether different ideological concern. Moreover, it was alleged that Wallachia and Moldavia from the beginning declared their intention to stay united to the Sublime Porte, while Transylvania, stated that it worked to preserve its status vis-à-vis Austria. How was it then that partial movements, of which some had no political tinge at all, borne at outdistant places, but of different causes, aiming different goals, could have met in the same way of thinking ; it is no other explanation than their need for independance which makes all peoples solidary with one another, and the natural wish of all the oppressed to get rid of their oppressors.

Thus this phantom of a Daco-Romanian Kingdom fades away, and it existed only in the imagination of Mr. Nesselrode and in support of Russia's projects, which wanted, as it is known, to leave the impression that it was making common cause with Turkey and Austria.

The second argument, where Russia comes out triumphant, seems to derive from Article 13 of the Declaration of Rights quoted in full before. I started by saying that the revolution did not create anything by formulating these principles ; it did nothing more than recalling the historical rights of the Principalities and the still live memory of the ancient national institutions. Actually, these institutions have always equally distributed the taxes, irres-

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pective of race or social class ; the lawyers, the priests, the merchants, the landlords, each and everyone made their contribution to State duties, the same as they were called to exercize their political rights. The head of state was elected without distinction from among all the nation's strata. Rights and duties were equal for all, and the law did not recognize nobiliary privileges, but public functions assigned to the most capable of them and conferring only honorary titles and not hereditary titles. As for Article 13, particularly, which abolishes corvées and declares the peasant the usufructuary owner of the small plot of land, the life interest being assured to him by indemnifying the owner for losing his seignor's rights, where can communism be settled here ?

But, if so, the same thing might be reproached to Austria, Hungary and before them to Prussia and to the other States of Germany which had first offered the example of the purchase of corvées by the state and the complete allotment of the plot of land, whose usufruct they had had until then, alone in peasant ownership.

It is clear that this was not a tendency of dismembering the Ottoman Empire, to speak in Russian terms, it was not an overthrow of social order which H.M. the Czar of Russia aimed in our revolution, and so much the more, not with the sole aim to restore order here did he order his soldiers to penetrate into the Principalities. For, the day after the penetration of the Russians, order reigned in Bucharest, as it used to reign in Warsaw, and all the promises made by the Czar are not fulfilled yet. "When — the Manifesto reads — legal order is restored in Wallachia and the Porte deems it has gained sufficient guarantees for subsequent order of the two provinces, our troops shall withdraw". Or, this calm is not disturbed any more. It is true that Russia met some difficulties in restoring what is called by it legal order : the peasants rose up in the countries, several town refused to hoist the national flag and almost all the new administrators (prefects) had to be installed at sword's edge. But, eventually, all resistance ceased. Wherefrom does than the fact result that in spite of the solemn pledge taken in front of Europe, in spite of the repeated requests of the Porte, 50,000 Russian are still in the Principalities which they brought to utter misery ? And, as if this would not be enough for Russia's subsequent projects, how can it dare to propose through its ambassador at Constantinople that the Divan should occupy the country for five years, by levying taxes worth 300,000 Rubles meant to cover occupation expenses and wich it generously offers to Wallachia in order to better hold it under its dependence. Why then these violent measures of reprisal, these posthumous executions, to which the Porte regretfully subscribed and about which the correspondence from Constantinople and Bucharest are informing us daily ? Why then are there thousands of citizens filling the country's prisons or taking the exile path, whose numbers show us more than enough that the revolution had not been the accomplishment of a minority, as alleged ? Why then, finally, so many lies, so many diplomatic intrigues, plots and tricks forged by of Russia with a view to cheating Europe ? If it has the brutal power of the strong it should not have the hypocrisy of the weak.

As for us, by protesting — as we did, in the name of justice and humanity — against the false statements of the St. Petersburg Cabinet, and

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by showing ourselves to Europe if not as we used to be but at least we would have liked it, we thought that we have fulfilled a duty of respectful defence to the Government from which we wait our future justice and satisfaction, to the Porte whose rights we have always observed asking it to observe our own, but particularly, that we have done justice to our oppressed brethren, to our unhappy homeland, which they defame in order to better enslave it.

What we can only do, in the presence of the evils with which the Russian occupation in the Principalities overburdens, them, is to protest for the last time against injustice and the dangers of this occupation which by abandoning — so to say — Russia's Danubian provinces, seriously jeopardises general European security and the maintenance of the balance of forces.

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Archives Diplomatiques, M. D. Turquie, Vol. 48, pp. 106—121. French original.

59

1851, March 24, Sibiu. Diplomatic dèspatch submitted by Field-Marshall Kalliany, the Deputy Civil and Military Governor of Transylvania, to Dr. Alexander Bach, Minister of Home Affairs in Vienna, on the Romanians' wish for union into an independent state.

One cannot overlook the fact that the Romanian population as well saw many of its expectations and of the exaggerated promises it was made in 1848 and 1849 by her contemporary leaders and tribunes betrayed, and that the new taxation and financial ordinances, introduced all of a sudden this year are far of being the things it desired, and that some dissatisfactions are occurring in this way ; the same as the much belated juridical arrangement and the uninterrupted want of knowledge of the country's political make-up are of a nature to offer multiple food for misinterpretation and worry. Nevertheless, the peasant recognizes everywhere the great advantages he drew from the new governmental administration measures, and feels satisfied with the protection he is offered far and wide, now.

Dissatisfied are, in fact, as it has repeatedly been emphasized in previous administrative and travel reports, only a part of the clergy, of the men-of-letters, the sophomores and the ex-tribunes, prefects and the other leaders of the people, as their unlimited pretentions, both as the reward of services brought during the previous years is concerned and as their desire for high functions and jobs, which they are not capable to fulfil by want of instructions and knowledge, have not been satisfied by the government yet.

The people have nothing to lose, as a matter of fact, they are prompted by excessive ambition and obscurity and from time on time, the idea of a Greater Romania (*die Idee einer grossen Romania*) crosses their minds, uniting all the Romanian ethnical populations (*alle rumänischen Volkstämme*), from within and without Austria, into an independent empire. There are some signs of secret relationships between these people and those who think like

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them in the neighbouring villages, although it was impossible as yet to obtain sure and sound proof thereof and reliable support to the rumours, in spite of all efforts made on this purpose.

But, if the executed withdrawal of the imperial [Austrian], Russian and Turkish troops takes place and their occupation shall be achieved by national autochtonous Romanian military men, it might be possible that those hidden links take clearer shape and that their anti-governmental aspirations come gradually to the fore. Until then, nevertheless this dissatisfied Romanian party of Transylvania would not dare to bring into prominence some plans of overthrowal and to try to guide the people through its exalted plans, against the government, for the people — for all its willingness to listen to luring tricks, as it seems accessible to them — in keeping with our own experience, it is very much attached to the high imperial court, and on account of the charity recently granted it feels much too obliged to be thankful and makes such plans impossible. Moreovoer, the Romanian ethnical population is lacking — and this should particularly be taken into account, even if the last circumstances would have been altogether changed and if the fear of some danger of rebellion would eventually exist — particularly now, after the general all-country disarmament, it is lacking, I repeat, the necessary weapons, the ammunition, but first and foremost it is too much in need of money and of intelligent leaders, to entitle us to think of such attempts at raising in rebellion.

Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv Informationbureau, Wien, A. Akten, K 12 $\frac{5297}{A}$ —1851, German original.

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THE UNION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES

The Romanian Revolution of 1848 had not overlooked the solidarity between the branches of the Romanian nation, but the political circumstances and particularly the efforts made by the three neighbouring empires — Ottoman, Czarist and Hapsburg, to stifle any movement for progress, social and national emancipation prevented it from including the question of national unity in its programme, from the very beginning. Therefore, the champions of union within the natural borders of the Romanian nation appreciated that the process could be carried out only stage by stage. The Romanians have always known that the only safe and lasting warranties for the future of their nation — hence, the liberation of thier brethren from Transylvania as well — were the union of Wallachia and Moldavia and then independence.

Owing to its development, the Romanian society was ready to fulfil this desideratum. They had first to do away with the external opposing forces. The Romanian patriots succeeded between 1848—1859 in turning their ardour and longlasting desire of the entire people into a political question of international interest and thus to transform public opinion in an important part of the European coutries and in the U.S.A. into a political and diplomatic climate favourable to the Romanian cause.

The Congress of the big European powers, convened in Paris in March 18/30, 1856, decided upon the liberation of the Romanian countries of Wallachia and Moldavia from the Russian Czar's protectorate, their maintenance under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire and their transferring under the collective security of seven guarantor powers — France, England, Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, Russia and Tur-

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key. At the same time, the Congress established that the will of the Romanian nation regarding its union should be made known and that a Convention should be drawn to stand for a Constitution for the Romanian people.

The Romanian nation from Wallachia and Moldavia, declared through its representatives at two assemblies organized in Bucharest and Jassy in favour of union, while the Paris Convention of 17/29 August 1859, recognizing the common origins of the Moldavians and Wallachians, stipulated the necessity of their union into a single state, under the name of the United Principalities. Through the election of the wellknown revolutionary and ardent patriot, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, in Jassy on Jannuary 5 and in Bucharest on January 24, 1859, as ruling prince of the United Principalities, the Romanian people laid the basis of its national and unitary state.

Under his reign, the Romanian nation obtained the full recognition of its unity (December 4, 1861), achieved bourgeois-democratic reforms and, implicitely, the corresponding framework for the economic, social, political, cultural and military development.

Asserting its viability, determined to defend arms in hand this fundamental right gained by the Romanians, against any possible attempt at encroaching upon internal sovereignty, the new state of *Romania* shall be the hope cherished by the Romanians from the other provinces still under foreign domination, strengthening thus the awareness of national unity and inciting the struggle for liberty and for union with the Motherland.

IOANA BURLACU

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60

1853, February 15, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by the French Consul at Bucharest, Eugène Poujade, to the Foreign Minister of France, Drouyn de Lhuys, suggesting that the country should determine the Porte itself to declare the independence and neutrality of the Principalities.

Agency and General Consulate
of France at Bucharest
Political Department
No. 102

Bucharest, February 15, 1853

Your Excellency,

I am deeply honoured to convey herewith to Your Excellency, the copy of a letter I have sent, yesterday, through a Tartar to the Ambassador of His Imperial Majesty at Constantinople, I deemed fit, to clearly explain the situation, the way it is judged and appreciated here. You may recall, Your Excellency, the letters I have had the honour to address to you at the end of the last year and you might have noticed that the possibility of a Russian occupation had been forseen at those times. Nowadays, the imminent coming of the Russians forms the subject all talks, in all the sections of society.

Everybody attributes to this Russian occupation likely to happen soon, the temporary mental illness of Moldavia's Prince. This idea, most widely spread displeased the Russian agents, who thought to improve the unfortunately very sad situation of Prince Grigore Ghica. It is, indeed, awkward for the Russians to hear that the mere news of their soon coming is able to cause the madness of the best prince Moldavia has ever had. In their superstitious imagination, the Moldo-Wallachians think, as a matter of fact that some omens are pointing to the coming of the Russians in the Principalities : according to popular beliefs, shared by the boyars as well, a hard winter, a swarm of locusts of the Northern Lighst precede or accompany the Russian battalions. These days a splendid Aurora Borealis stirred, a great excitement, for,

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although they like the Russians, — but only if they are fare away — they are not disposed to offer them their drawing rooms, to see their good homes turned into hospitals and their incomes substantialy reduced.

As for the Russians, it is a well known truth that the entrance into the Principalities is a very great luck, avidly sought after by the Russians. It is a pleasure for the officers of the provincial gubernial garrisons to live in a capital city, most brilliant in comparison with their dull towns, and for all of them, it means a station, where they would enjoy some freedom and power they had never known at home.

I do not know the point of view of the Emperor's Government concerning the occupation of the Principalities ; but assuming, that this fact is unpopular in Paris, there is, in my opinion, an efficient means to oppose Russia, whose territory we cannot invade like that of Austria or Prussia, namely, to determine the Ottoman Porte itself to declare the independence and neutrality of the Danubian Principalities, under the protection and warranty of Europe, in exchange of an indemnification to be subsequently established. This bold endeavour, but cautious and wise, used to fall in with Fuad Effendi, in the past, who more than once told me about it and which could be accepted with pleasure by Austria itself.

With my best regards, I remain Dear Sir,

Obediently Yours
Signed : Eugène Poujade

To His Excellency Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of the Foreign Affairs

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Archives Diplomatiques, C.P.C. Turquie — Bucharest, vol. 11, pp. 33—35. French original.

61

1857, October 5/17, Bucharest. Diplomatic dèspatch of the General Consul of Belgium at Bucharest, Jacques Poumay, addressed to his Foreign Minister, on the certain endorsement of the unionist programme by the Ad hoc Assemblies of Bucharest and Jassy.

The Consulate of Belgium
in the Principality of Moldavia
Nr. 334

Bucharest, October 5/17, 1857

Your Excellency,

The opening of the Ad hoc Divan was made with great pomp and ceremony on September 29/October 11 ; at seven o'clock in the morning several militia detachments formed an echelon around the Metropolitan Church.

A divine service, attended by the Caimacan, the ministers, the deputies, the commissaries of the foreign powers (with the exception of Sir H. Bulwer

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and Savfet Efendy), the consular corps and the notabilities of the Capital, was performed in the cathedral church.

After the religious ceremony, the attendance went to the Divan Hall ; the commissaries took their seats in the right gallery, while the consular representatives in the left one, the caimacan set down between the two tribunes, surrounded by the general staff officiers, by ministers, the metropolitan and several members of the clergy.

Almost all the deputies were present, and among them was also the ex-ruling prince Bibescu ; Prince Stirbey did not attend at all.

The Secretary of State in office, read, further, the decree of the Prince Caimacan, on the opening of the Ad-hoc Divan.

Would you please find enclosed the translation of this document, which I have had the honour to send to Your Excellency as Annex A.

After having read this document, the Caimacan congratulated the deputies, wishing them success in the proceedings of their assembly upon which the future of the country depended, then the Prince, the officers in waiting and the ministers withdrew ; the Metropolitan, who was the chairman by right of the new assembly, made his speech, whose copy you may find enclosed as Annex B.

In the evening, the city and the public buildings were gorgeously lighted ; in several places, window blinds carried inscriptions like : *Long live Union !, Long live Union under a foreign Prince ! Wallachia and Moldavia united into a single state under a foreign Prince !* or, *Union of Wallachia and Moldavia under a single government !, Union of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia under a hereditary foreign prince ! Union with our autonomy warranted !, etc., etc.*

Perfect order ruled all over, in spite of the noisy clamour.

The first sessions of the *Ad hoc* Divan approached the rights of various deputies and the nomination of commissions.

The more serious and more important proceedings start next week.

As the result of the debates is concerned, the Divan of Jassy and that of Bucharest will, undoubtedly, declare, by overhelming majority for the union of the Principalities into a single state under the sceptre of a foreign hereditary Prince and they would eagerly do away with the suzeranity of the Porte, but, in case of need, they would accept it.

The programme of the unionist party, as Wallachia is concerned, is in brief as follows :

"The Union of Wallachia and Moldavia into a single state and under a single government".

"Neutrality of the Moldo-Wallachian territory".

"Foreign hereditary prince, elected from a European dynasty, and where descendents, born in this country, shall be raised in the Greek Orthodox faith".

"Representative government with a General Assembly".

"Observance of the right of property".

"Private freedom and freedom to work for the peasant".

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Consulat de Belgique
dans les Principautés
de Moldavie et de Valachie

Bucharest, 3/17 Octobre 1857

19.

N° 334
2 Annexes

A 3457
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Monsieur le Ministre,

L'ouverture du Divan ad-hoc a eu lieu le 29/11 Octobre avec grande pompe : dès sept heures du matin plusieurs détachements de la Milice se trouvaient échelonnés aux alentours de la Métropole.

Un office divin, auquel ont assisté le Caïmacan, les Ministres, les Députés, les Commissaires des Puissances étrangères (à l'exception de Sir H. Bulwer et de Saffend Effendi) du corps Consulaire et des notabilités de la Capitale, a été célébré dans l'église cathédrale.

Après la cérémonie religieuse on s'est rendu dans la salle du Divan, les Commissaires ont pris place dans une tribune à droite et le corps consulaire dans une tribune à gauche, le Caïmacan a siégé entre ces deux tribunes entouré des officiers de son état major, des Ministres du Métropolitain et de quelques membres du clergé.

Presque tous les députés étaient présents, parmi eux figurait l'ex Prince Bibesco, le Prince Stirbey

A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Comte Charles Vilain XIIII
Ministre des Affaires Étrangères

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n'y assistait point.

Le Secrétaire d'État ad interim, a ensuite donné lecture du Décret du Prince Caïmacan concernant l'ouverture du Divan ad-hoc.

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur le Ministre, de transmettre à Votre Excellence, sous annexe A, la traduction de ce Décret.

Après la lecture de cette pièce, le Caïmacan a félicité les Députés en leur souhaitant un heureux succès dans les travaux dont dépend l'avenir du Pays; puis le Prince, les officiers de sa suite et les Ministres se sont retirés. Alors le Métropolitain, qui est Président de droit de la nouvelle assemblée a prononcé le Discours dont ci-joint la copie sous annexe B.

Le soir la ville et les édifices publics étaient brillamment illuminés, dans plusieurs endroits des transparents portaient pour inscriptions, les uns: Vive l'Union, - vive l'union avec un Prince étranger, - la Valachie et la Moldavie réunies en un seul état avec un Prince étranger et d'autres: Union de la Valachie et de la Moldavie sous un seul gouvernement, - Union des Principautés de Valachie et de Moldavie avec un Prince étranger héréditaire, union avec garantie de notre autonomie, etc. etc.

Le plus parfait ordre a régné partout malgré ces bruyantes manifestations.

Les premières séances du Divan ad-hoc ont été employées à vérifier les pouvoirs des divers Députés et à nommer différentes commissions.

Des travaux plus sérieux et plus importants

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commenceront la semaine prochaine.

Quant au résultat des délibérations, il ne saurait être douteux, le Divan de Jassy et celui de Bucharest se prononceront, avec une majorité formidable, pour l'Union des Principautés en un seul Etat, sous le sceptre d'un Prince étranger avec hérédité; on écartera cependant la Suzeraineté de la Porte mais on l'acceptera au besoin.

Le programme du parti Unioniste, en ce qui concerne la Valachie, se résume ainsi qu'il suit:

« Union de la Valachie et de la Moldavie en un
« seul Etat et sous un seul Gouvernement.

« Neutralité du territoire Moldo-Valaque.

« Prince étranger héréditaire qui serait choisi dans
« une Dynastie de l'Europe et dont les héritiers, nés dans
« le pays, seraient élevés dans le rite du catholicisme grec.

« Gouvernement représentatif avec une assemblée
« générale.

« Respect du droit de propriété.

« Liberté individuelle et liberté du travail pour
« le paysan.

« Egalité de tous les Roumains (moldo-Valaques)
« devant la loi.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de la considération la plus haute avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être

De Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Jacques Poinsett

Doc. 61 c

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"Equal rights of all Romanian (Moldo-Wallachian) in front of the law".

Would you accept, Your Excellency, my highest consideration, and I have the honour to remain,

Yours most humble and obedient servant

Jacques Poumay

To H.E. Count Charles Vilain,
Foreign Minister, in Brussels

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et du Commerce Extérieur, Bruxelles, Correspondance Politique, Légations, Roumanie, vol. 2, doc. 19. French original.

62

1858, August 19, Paris. Paris Convention between Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey, on the definite organization of the Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Their Majesties the Emperor of France, the Emperor of Austria, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Braitain and Ireland, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all Russia, the King of Sardinia and the Emperor of the Turkey, in their will, in keeping with the stipulations of the Treaty concluded in Paris on March 30, 1856, to sanction by a Convention their final understandings on the definite organization of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, have assigned their ministers plenipotentiary, to negotiate and sign the said conventions, as follows :

His Majesty the Emperor of France has assigned the Right Honourable Alexandre, Count Collona Walewski, Senator of the Empire, Great Cross of the Imperial order of the Legion of Honour, etc., etc., H.M. Minister and Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria has assigned the Right Honourable Joseph-Alexander, Baron von Hübner, Great Cross of the Leopold and Iron Crown Imperial Order, etc., etc., H.M. Privy Councillor in office and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at H.M. the Emperor of France.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has assigned The Right Honourable Henry-Richard-Charles, the Earl Cowley, the Viscount Dangan, the Lord Cowley, Peer of the United Kingdom, Member of the Privy Council of Her British Majesty, Knight, Great Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Her British Majesty at the Emperor of France ;

His Majesty the King of Prussia has assigned the Right Honourable Maximilian-Friedrich-Karl-Franz, Count von Metzfeld-Wildenburg-Schoenstein, Knight of the Royal Order of the Red Vulture, First Class, with Oak Leaves, H.M. Privy Councillor and His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at H.M. the Emperor of France ;

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His Majesty the Emperor of all Russia has assigned the Right Honourable the Count Pavel Kisselef, Knight of the Orders of Russia, decorated with double portrait stunned with diamonds cut into facets of Emperor Nikolai and Alexander II, etc., etc., H. M. Adjutant-General, General of Infantry, Member of the Imperial Council, H. M. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at H. M. the Emperor of France ;

His Majesty the King of Sardinia has assigned The Most Honourable Salvator Marquess of Villamarina, Great Cross of the Royal Order of St. Maurice and Lazarus, etc., etc., H. M. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at H. M. the Emperor of France ;

His Majesty the Emperor of the Turks has assigned Mahomed Fuad Pasha, H. M. Mukhir and Vizier, decorated with the Imperial Orders Medjidia and of the Private Merit First Class, with the Military Order, etc., etc., H. M. Minister of Foreign Affairs in office ;

Who, having been given full and duly recognized powers, gathered in Conference in Paris and decided upon the following :

Article 1 — The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, constituted from now on under the name of the "United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia", shall remain under the suzeranity of H. M. the Sultan.

Article 2 — By virtue of the capitulations issued by Sultans Bayazid I, Muhammad II, Selin I and Soliman II, which constitute their autonomy, regulating their relationships with the Sublime Porte, and sanctioned by several hettisherifs, particularly that of 1834 ; in keeping also with Article 22, 23 under the Treaty concluded in Paris, on March 30, 1856, the Principalities shall further enjoy, under the collective guarantee of the signatory powers, the privileges and immunities they boast of.

Hence, the Principalities shall administer themselves freely and without any interference of the Sublime Porte, within the limits stipulated by the agreement of the guarantor powers with the suzerain court.

Article 3 — Public powers shall be entrusted in each principality to a hospodar and to an elective assembly, acting in the cases mentioned by the present Convention, through the instrumentality of a common central commission of the two Principalities.

Article 4 — All executive power shall be vested in the hospodar.

Article 5 — All legislative power shall be collectively exercized by the hospodar, the assembly and the central commission.

Article 6 — The laws of special interest for each Principality shall be drawn up by the hospodar, and passed by vote by the assembly.

The laws of common interest for both principalities shall be drawn up by the central commission and submitted by the hospodars, to the assembly for endorsement.

Article 7 — All judicial power, exercized in the name and on behalf of the hospodar shall be vested in the lawyers appointed by him, and nobody shall be entitled to elude his natural judges.

A special law shall determine the conditions of the call to the bar and of promotion, in magistrature, grounded on the progressive application of the principle of irretrievable rights.

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Article 8 — The Principalities shall pay to the suzerain Court a fixed annual tribute of 1,500,000 piasters in Moldavia and 2,500,000 piasters in Wallachia.

Investiture of hospodars shall be made, as in the past, by H. M. the Sultan.

The superior Court shall arrange together with the Principalities the measures for the defence of their territory in case of external aggression and the superior Court in duty bound to produce, by agreement with the guarantor powers, the necessary measures for the restoration of order in case of violation thereof.

Similar to the past the international treaties to be concluded by the superior Court with the foreign powers shall be applicable whenever they are not prejuducial to their immunity.

Article 9 — In case of encroachment upon the immunity of the Principalities, the hospodars shall appeal to the suzerain Court ; if they are not done justice, the claim may be staked, through their agents, with the representatives of the guarantor power, at Constantinople.

The hospodar shall be represented at the Suzerain Court by agents (*capuchehaie*), Moldavian or Wallachian by birth, subjects to no foregin jurisdiction and accepted by the Porte.

Article 10 — The hospodar shall be elected by the assembly for life.

Article 11 — In case of vacancy and up to the installation of a new hospodar, all prerogatives of administration shall be transferred to the Council of Ministers, which shall exercise them by right.

His purely administrative prerogative shall be limited to the conduct of affairs, without being entitled to recall functionaries, excepting in case of offences proved by trial in court. In such case, they shall be entitled to dispose their substitution only temporarily.

Article 12 — When the vacancy is produced, if the assembly is in session, it shall have to elect a new hospodar within a term of eight days.

If the assembly is not in session, it shall be immediately summoned and convened within a term of ten days. In case the assembly is dissolved, new elections shall be made within a term of fifteen days, and the new assembly shall have to be convened in its turn within a term of ten days.

During the eight days of convention, it shall have to elect the hospodar.

In order to be entitled to proceed to election, an attendance of three quarter of the enlisted members is necessary.

In case the election shall not take place within the term of eight days, on the ninth day, at noon, the assembly shall proceed to election, whatever the number of attending members.

Investiture, like in the past, shall be required and granted, within a month.

Article 13 — Eligible to the office of hospodar, is any person who is 35 years of age, is son of a Moldavian or Wallachian father, may justify a land income of 3,000 golden ducats, in condition he had fulfilled public functions for ten years or is member of an assembly.

Article 14 — The hospodar governs with the instrumentality of the ministers appointed by him.

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Article 15 — He has the right to grant pardon and commute penalities in criminal matters, without being entitled to interfere in the administration of justice.

He draws up the laws of special interest to the Principalities, particularly the budgets which he submits to the assembly for debate.

He makes all appointments to public administration offices and draws up the necessary regulations for the implementation of laws.

The civil list of each hospodar shall be passed by the assembly once and for all, on his election.

Article 15 — Any document drawn up by the hospodar shall be countersigned by the competent minister.

Ministers are held responsible for the violation of laws and particularly for any squandering of public incomes.

They shall be justiciable by the action of the High Court of Justice and the Highest Court of Appeal.

The sum-ups can be caused by the hospodar or by the assembly.

Impeachment of ministers can be pronounced by a majority of, at least, two thirds of the present members.

Article 16 — The elective assembly shall be elected in each principality for a term of 7 years, in keeping with the electoral instructions annexed to the present convention.

Article 17 — The assembly shall be summoned by the hospodar and it shall have to be convened yearly, on the first Sunday of the month of December. The interval in which the assembly is in ordinary session, shall be of 3 months.

The hospodar shall be entitled, if need may be, to prolong the session. He can convene extraordinary session or dissolve the assembly. For the latter, he is obliged to summon a new assembly, which shall have to be convened within a term of three months.

Article 18 — The Metropolitan and the bishops are members by right of the assembly.

Chairmanship of the assembly belongs to the Metropolitan, and the vice-chairman and secretaries shall be elected by the assembly.

Article 19 — The Chairman establishes the conditions for the public to attend the sessions, excepting special cases, to be provided in the interior regulations.

By care of the chairman, briefings shall be drawn up, after each session, to be published in "The Official Gazette".

Article 20 — The assembly shall debate and pass the draft laws presented by the hospodar. It shall be entitled to amend them, exception being made by those stipulated under Article 36, concerning the laws of common interest.

Article 21 — If the ministers are not members of the assembly, they shall nevertheless have access to and be entitled to participate in the debates upon the laws, without participating in the vote.

Article 22 — The final account of incomes and expenditures, drawn up yearly for each principality by care of the respective hospodar and submitted to the assembly, which is entitled to amend it, shall not be made final until it is voted by the assembly.

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If the budget is not voted in due time, the executive power shall meet the requirements of public services in keeping with the budget for the previous year.

Article 23 — The various sums of money, deriving from special pay offices and which are disposed of by the government under various titles, shall be included in the general budget of incomes.

Article 24 — The final settlement of accounts shall have to be presented to the assembly within a maximum term of 2 years from the day of the conclusion of each budgetery exercise.

Article 25 — No tax can be established or levied without the assembly's consent.

Article 26 — All laws of common or special interest and the public administration regulations, the financial laws shall be inserted in "The Official Gazette".

Article 27 — The Central Commission shall have its main offices at Focşani.

It shall be made of 16 members — 8 Moldavians and 8 Wallachians ; 4 shall be people having fulfilled high state offices and 4 from among the members of the assembly.

Article 28 — The members of the Central Commission preserve the right to participate in the election of hospodars in the assembly in whose membership they are.

Article 29 — The Central Commission has a standing activity ; nevertheless, it shall be entitled, if possible, to delay its works for some time, but no more than 4 months.

The lenght of service of its members, for each principality, be they appointed by the hospodar or elected by the assembly shall be equal to the duration of the term of office of the assembly.

Nevertheless, the function of the members whose term of office expires shall not cease until the installation of the new members. When the terms of office of the two assemblies expire simultaneously, the Central Commission shall be renewed as a whole for both principalities at the opening of the new assemblies.

When only one assembly is dissolved, renewal shall take place only for the members of the Central Commission, representing the principality in which the assembly has to be re-elected.

The members whose term of office expires may be re-elected.

Article 30 — The functions of the Central Commission shall be paid.

Article 31 — The Central Commission shall nominate its Chairman. In case the votes go equally to two candidates, decision is made by drawing of lots.

The term of office of a chairman shall expire at the same time with his mandate of member of the Central Commission ; they cannot be renewed.

In case of equal distribution of votes in the debates, the Chairman's vote shall preponderate over other votes.

The Central Commission shall take care of drawing up its interior regulations. All payments of sums of money used or needed to any purpose whatever shall be made at the expense of, and equally shared by, the two Principalities.

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Article 32 — The Constitutive dispositions of the new organization of the Principalities fall under the protection of the Central Commission.

The Central Commission shall be entitled to notify the hospodars about the abuses which, in their opinion, demand urgent reform, and to suggest improvements required in various branches of the administration.

Article 33 — The Hospodars may send to the Central Commission any suggestion for alterations, which they deem useful to be made, to the draft common laws of the two Principalities.

The Central Commission shall draw up laws of general interest for both Principalities and it shall submit these laws, through the agency of the hospodars, to the assemblies for debate.

Article 34 — Laws of general interest are those laws concerned with the unity of legislation, the setting up, maintenance or improvement of the union of customs, post and telgraph offices, the establishment of the monetary value and various matters of public interest, common to both Principalities.

Article 35 — Once constituted, the Central Committee shall pay particular heed to codifying the existing laws, in harmony with the constitutive act of the new organization.

It shall revise the Organic Regulations, as well as the Civil and Criminal Code, the Commercial Law and the Code of Criminal Procedure, so that, besides the laws of purely local interest, there shall be only one single legislative body, which shall be executory in both Principalities, after having been endorsed by the respective assemblies, sanctioned and promulgated by each hospodar.

Article 36 — If the assemblies make amendments to the draft laws of common interest, the amended bill shall be transmitted to the Central Commission, which appreciates and decides upon a final project, which the assemblies shall only be entitled to adopt or reject in its entirety.

The Central Commission shall have to adopt the amendments voted simultaneously by both assemblies.

Article 37 — The laws of special interest for each Principality shall not be sanctioned by the hospodar before the Central Commission is notified by him thereupon, and it shall have to determine if they are compatible with the constitutive acts of the new organization.

Article 38 — One Higher Court of Justice and of Cassation common to both Principalities shall be set up.

It may have its main offices at Focşani. Its setting up shall be established by law.

Its members hold the appointment for life.

Article 39 — The decisions made by the courts and the sentences passed by the tribunals in one or another of the Principalities shall be submitted solely to this Court of Cassation.

Article 40 — It shall exercize the right of censorship and discipline over the Courts of Appeal and the tribunals.

It shall have a right of executive jurisdiction over its own members in matters pertaining to criminal laws.

Article 41 — In its capacity of high court of justice, it shall hear the impeachments initiated by the hospodar or by the assembly against ministries and shall judge the cases without right to appeal.

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Article 42 — The regular militia forces, set up in both Principalities, shall have an identical organization, in order to be able, if need may be, to unite and form one single army.

This matter shall benefit of a common law.

Besides, annual inspection of the militia forces of both Principalities shall be performed by general inspectors, appointed every year, alternately, by each hospodar. These inspectors shall have the duty to control and check the full execution of the instructions meant to keep up, with the militia forces, all the characteristic features of two corps of one single army.

The strength of the regular militia forces, as established under the Organic Regulations, cannot be increased by more than one third, without previous arrangement with the suzerain court.

Article 43 — The militia forces shall be called up whenever the internal safety or that of the borders is in danger. Their summoning may be caused by one or the other hospodar, but only after a mutual agreement is reached between them, which is made known to the superior court.

At the suggestion of the inspectors, the hospodars may call up, partially or totally, the militia forces to manoeuvres — for military reviews.

Article 44 — The Commander-in-Chief shall be alternately appointed by each hospodar, whenever the militia forces are summoned. He must be Moldavian or Wallachian by birth. He can be recalled by the hospodar who appointed him. In this case, the new Commander-in-Chief shall be appointed by the other hospodar.

Article 45 — The two militia forces shall keep their present banners; but, they shall wear, in the future, a blue banderol, according to the model attached to the present Convention.

Article 46 — The Moldavians and the Wallachians shall be equal in front of the taxation laws and they shall be similarly admitted to public offices in one or the other of the Principalities.

Nobody can be expropriated, but legally, on reasons of public interest or by indemnification.

The Moldavians and Wallachians of all Christian denominations shall equally enjoy their political rights.

The exercise of these rights can be extended as other cults by legislative dispositions.

All privileges, exemptions and monopolies still enjoyed by some classes shall be abolished, and the law regulating the relationship between landowners and landtillers shall be revised without delay, with a view to improving the peasants' condition.

Municipal and urban establishments, as well as the rural ones shall benefit of the development deriving from the stipulations of the present Convention.

Article 47 — Until the revision mentioned under Article 37 is made, the present laws of the Principalities shall be kept in force with all dispositions which are not contrary to the stipulations of the present Convention.

Article 48 — With a view to implementing Article 25 under the Treaty of March 30, 1856, a hettisherif conforming to the letter with the stipulations of the present Convention shall promulgate the preceding dispositions within

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a maximum term of fifteen days, reckoned from the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification.

Article 49 — On the publication of the said hettisherif, the administration shall be delivered by the present Princely Lieutenants, in each Principality, to a provisional commission constituted according to the disposition of the Organic Regulations.

Subsequently, these commissions shall be made up of the Chairman of the Princely Divan, the High Logothete and the Minister of Home Affairs, who were in office under the last hospodars, before the installation of the provisional administration in 1856.

The said commissions shall look after the drawing of voting lists to be made final and billed within a term of five weeks. Elections shall take place three weeks after the lists have been billed.

Ten days after, the deputies shall gather in each principality, with a view to proceeding, in the terms mentioned above, to electing the hospodars.

Article 50 — The present Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged within a term of five weeks, or sooner, if possible.

Signed and sealed with their coat of arms by the respective ministers plenipotentiaries.

Drawn up in Paris, on August 19th, 1858, after the Gregorian calendar. A. Walewski, Hübner, Cowley, Hatzfeldt, Kisselef, Villamarina, Fuad.

Gabriel Effendi Noradoumaghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, T. troisième, 1856—1878, Paris, Librairie Cotillon, F. Pichon, Leipzig, Breitkopf et Haertel; Neuchatel, Attinger Frères, 1902, pp. 109—118. French original.

63

1859, February 6, Jassy. Telegram addressed to the Foreign Office by H. M. Consul of the United Kingdom at Jassy, Henry Churchill, concerning the enthusiasm created in Moldavia by Al I. Cuza's election as Prince of Wallachia.

TELEGRAM

Decypher from Consul Churchill

Jassy, February 6th, 1859

Cuza's Election to Wallachia has created great enthusiasm here. It is considered a grand step towards Union which will be effected if the strongest measures are not taken to oppose it. In the Moldavian Journals it is clearly declared that should the Porte dare to refuse the Investiture, the Roumanians will reject its authority and will one and all defend their rights to the last.

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Turkey, F.O. 78, Vol. 1443, p. 104. English original.

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Decyphers from Consul Churchill. 104

Jassy Feb. 6.
2. p. m.
11. p. m.

Couza's Election to Wallachia has created great enthusiasm here. It is considered a grand step towards union which will be effected if the strongest measures are not taken to oppose it. In the Moldavian Journals it is clearly declared, that should the Porte dare to refuse the Investiture, the Roumanies will reject its authority, and will one and all defend their rights to the last.

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64

1958, February 22, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by Jacques Poumay, the Belgian Consul at Bucharest, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, concerning the arrival of Prince Al. I. Cuza in Bucharest.

February 10/22, 1859, Bucharest

Your Excellency,

As I already had the honour to inform Your Excellency by my last cable, Prince Alexandru Ioan I made his entry to Bucharest, on Sunday 8/10, 1859, at 1. a.m. The prince was accompanied by a couple of Moldavian officers.

Starting with 10 o'clock in the morning, the vast plain of Băneasa, situated at the outskirts of the Capital was invaded by the crowd, carriages and a lot of riders. A tent was erected in which, the military and civil authorities, the members of the municipality and the leaders of various corporations waited for the ruling prince to welcome him with "bread and salt" according to the old custom.

Six hundred militia-men bore arms. All the houses in town were decked with flags, banners were hoisted and garlands of flowers could be seen everywhere as well as the motto written in large characters : *Unirea face puterea* (Union means strength).

On his arrival, the Prince had a talk with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Golescu, for several minutes, and addressed a couple of words to the heads of the corporations, then, he took a seat in a stately carriage, having *at his right* Mr. Golescu (of course due to the latter's gaucherie), and crossed the whole town, escorted by troops, the boyars and the people, in the midst of live clamour of cheers and under a pour of bunches of flowers thrown at the carriage from all over, and he went directly to the legislative Chamber, where he was received by the clergy, the ministers and the deputies.

The Metropolitan, a weak and old man, addressed him a short speech, which nobody was able to understand. The Prince thanked him courteously and took the following oath : "I swear... to scrupulously defend the rights and interests of the United Principalities, to respectfuly watch, during my reign, over the strict implementation of the laws, equal to all, and to take into account only the happineas and welfare of the Romanian nation. So help me God and my fellow countrymen !"

Then he addressed the deputies, in a firm voice, and thanked the Chamber, the body of the Romanian nation which achieved the salutary act of January 24/February 5, the act he considered the sanctioning of the principle of national revival, adding that he was ready to make all efforts in order to support the country and the citizens' rights, even at the cost of his own blood.

Leaving the Assembly, the Prince was accompanied with the same ceremonial to the State Palace where, he received the ministers and some high officials.

One may estimate that some 100,000 people accompanied in utter disorder, the train of attendants all through the route, and the gendarmerie and the

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Consulat de Belgique
dans les Principautés
de Moldavie et de Valachie

Bucharest 10/22 février 1859

90

A 3457
10 Mars

N° 423

Monsieur le Ministre,

Comme j'avais l'honneur d'en informer Votre Excellence par ma dernière dépêche, le Prince Alexandre Jean I a fait son entrée à Bucharest le Dimanche 8/20 C^nt à 1^h de relevée; le Prince était accompagné par quelques officiers Moldaves.

Dès 10^h du matin la vaste plaine de Bagnasse, sise à l'une des barrières de la Capitale était envahie par le peuple, les voitures et une foule de cavaliers: une tente était dressée où les autorités militaires et civiles, les membres de la municipalité, les chefs des diverses corporations attendaient le Prince pour lui offrir suivant un ancien usage, "le pain et le sel".

A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Baron de Vrière
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères
etc. etc. etc. à Bruxelles.

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Dix mille militaires étaient sous les armes.

Toutes les maisons de la ville étaient pavoisées, partout des drapeaux, des guirlandes de fleurs, partout cette devise écrite en grands caractères : Unirea face puterea (l'union fait la force).

Le Prince en arrivant devant entretint quelques instants avec le Ministre de l'Intérieur, Mr Golesco, puis après avoir adressé quelques paroles aux chefs des corporations, il est monté dans une voiture de gala ayant à sa droite Mr Golesco (sans doute par une maladresse de ce dernier) et traversa ainsi toute la ville escorté par la troupe, la boyarie et le peuple, au bruit des plus vives acclamations et au milieu d'une pluie de bouquets qu'on lançait de toutes parts dans sa voiture, et se rendit directement à la Chambre Législative où il fut reçu par le clergé, les Ministres et les députés.

Le Métropolitain, vieillard débile, lui a adressé un petit discours que personne n'a compris, le Prince l'a courtoisement remercié et a prêté le serment suivant :

« Je jure au nom de la très sainte Trinité et en présence du pays que je sauvegarderai avec sainteté les droits et les « intérêts des Principautés-Unies, que durant mon règne je « veillerai au respect des lois en tout et pour tous, que je n'aurai « en vue que le bien et le bonheur de la Nation Roumaine.

« Que Dieu et mes compatriotes me viennent en aide ! »

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Ensuite, d'une voix ferme, s'adressant aux députés, il a remercié la Chambre qui a été l'organe de la nation Roumaine dans l'acte salutaire qu'elle a accompli le 24/5 février, acte qu'il considère comme la consécration du principe de la régénération de la nation, ajoutant qu'il se déclare prêt à faire tous ses efforts pour soutenir le pays et les droits des citoyens, même au prix de son sang.

Le Prince ayant quitté l'assemblée a été conduit avec le même cérémonial au Palais de l'Etat où il a reçu les Ministres et quelques hauts fonctionnaires.

On peut évaluer à 100,000 le nombre de personnes qui ont suivi tout le parcours du cortège. Le plus grand désordre régnait et la gendarmerie et la police ne pouvaient tenir la foule en respect. Les cris de vive Couza, Vive notre Prince, Vive Alexandre, Vive l'Union etc. etc. n'ont pas cessé de retentir un instant. A la salle des Députés des salves d'applaudissements ont couvert les paroles du Prince, partout enfin, les démonstrations les plus vives lui ont été faites. Le peuple surtout est dans un état de surexcitation sans égal.

Le soir S. A. s'est rendue au théâtre où on donnait en langue Valaque une pièce de circonstance. L'accueil le plus enthousiaste a salué sa présence.

Aucun membre du corps Consulaire n'assistait à l'assemblée

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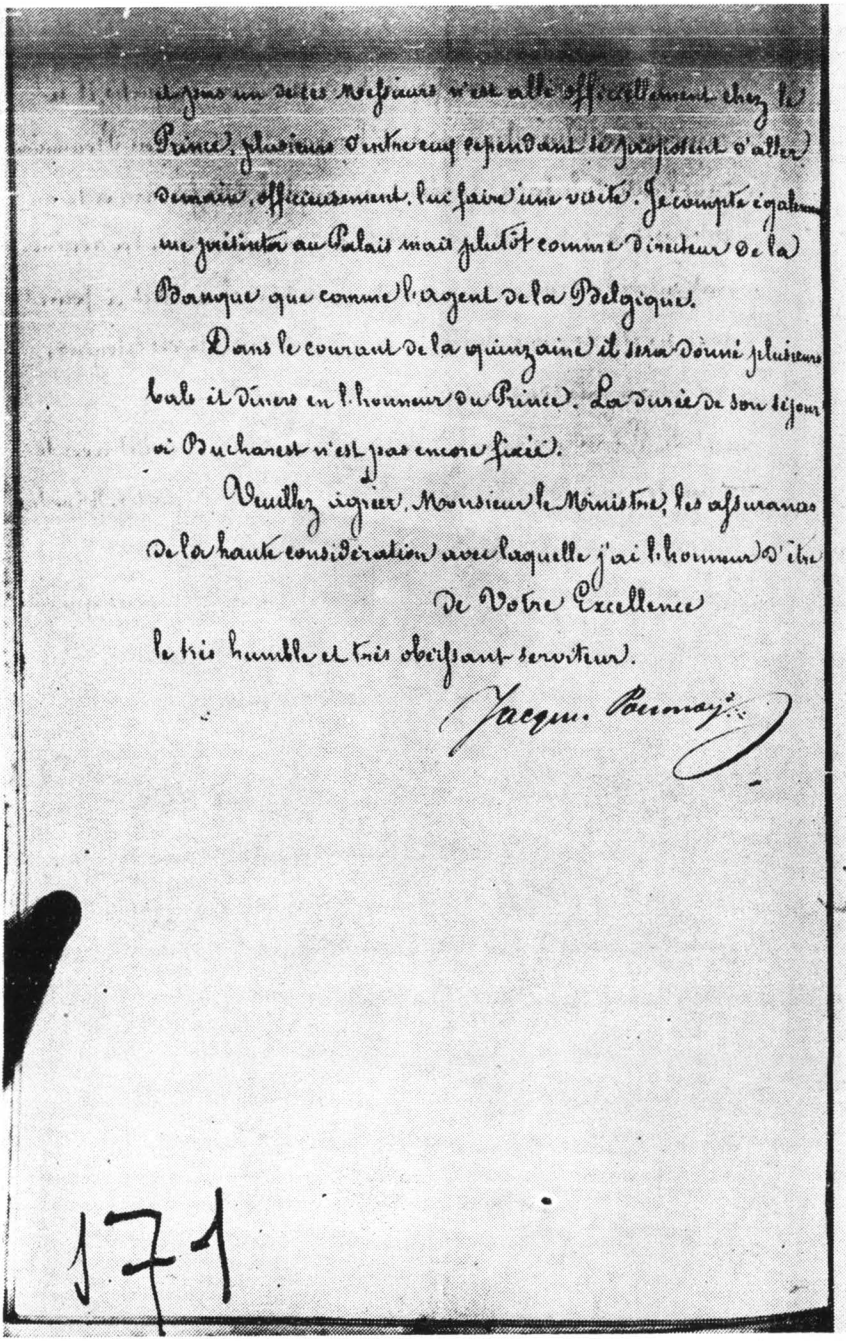

Doc. 64 d

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police was not able to stop the enthusiastic crowds. The Prince was received with unceasing cheers : "Long live Cuza !", "Long live our Prince !", "Long live Alexandru", "Long live Union !"

The Prince's words were hailed with roars of applause in the Chamber of deputies. Everywhere he was welcome with the liveliest and heartiest expressions of goodwill. The people, particularly, was overexcited.

In the evening, His Highness went to the theatre, where a Romanian play for the occasion was performed, his presence being again enthusiastically greeted.

No member of the Consular Corps attended the Assembly and none of them officially presented formal respects to the Prince yet anyway, some of them are going to pay him a formal visit tomorrow.

I plan also to go to the Palace, but I would rather go in my capacity of the Bank Manager than as the agent of Belgium.

During the next two weeks several balls and dinners shall be given in honour of the Prince. The duration of his stay in Bucharest has not been established yet.

Would you accept the expression of my highest respects, and I remain, Your Excellency,

Obediently and most humbly Yours,
Jacques Poumay

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et du Commerce Extérieur, Bruxelles, Correspondance Politique, Légations, Roumanie, 1857—1860, Vol. II, p. 90. French original.

65

1859, March 2, Pera. Fragment of the Diplomatic dispatch sent by the Ambassador of France at Constantinople, Thouvenel, to Count Walewski, Foreign Minister of France concerning the Romanians' unanimous will to achieve the administrative union of the two Principalities.

1859, March 2, Pera

. . . . . .

Sir H. Bulwer and I agree to it, and everybody here is of the same opinion that Article 27 of the Treaty of Paris, in its present wording, does not offer serious security to Turkey against possible and even probable violations of the Convention of August 19, by the Moldo-Wallachians. Indeed, this article reads that no military intervention can take place in the United Principalities without the previous agreement and only if "their interior peace is menaced or compromised". As for the previous agreement, nobody is against to admit them. But, to reduce it to the possibility of intervention only in case of domestic trouble, would be equal to facilitating for the Moldo-Wallachians their gradual and leisurely achievement of their aspirations, even of those which are most inconsistent with the Convention of August 19 and

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celles de son Ambassadeur.

Nous sommes convenus, Sir Hy. Bulwer et moi, et tout le monde convient ici, que l'article 27 du traité de Paris, dans sa rédaction actuelle, n'offre pas de garantie sérieuse à la Turquie contre les usurpations ultérieures possibles et même probables des Espoldo Valaques sur la Convention du 19 Août. Cet article en effet dispose qu'aucune intervention militaire ne pourra avoir lieu dans les Principautés Unies à moins d'un accord préalable et à moins que " leur repos intérieur ne soit menacé ou compromis ". — quant à la nécessité de

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l'accord préalable, personne ne
fait difficulté de l'admettre. Mo
restreindre la possibilité de
l'intervention au seul cas de troubl
intérieurs, c'est faire la partie bel
aux Moldo-Valaques pour arriv
pas à pas et paisiblement à la
réalisation de leurs vœux, même
plus contraires à la Convention d
19 Aout et à la position que le
traité de Paris a faite ou plutôt
maintenue à la Turquie vis à vi
d'eux.

Supposé en effet que la
double élection de Mr Couza, c'es
à dire l'union personnelle des
Principautés, soit reconnue par les
Puissances, n'est-il pas très possibl

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n'est-il pas vraisemblable que les Roumains, dont les aspirations vers l'union effective et complète sont plus vives que jamais, entreprendront dans un délai plus ou moins prochain et lorsque les circonstances leur sembleront favorables, un nouvel et plus décisif empiètement sur la Convention du 19 Août en proclamant par exemple l'union administrative des deux Diètes et la confusion des deux Assemblées en une seule ?! — Il en a déjà été question — Ces choses se feront sans troubles et sans désordres intérieurs parce qu'elles sont conformes au vœu général du pays ; et pais alors les Puissances garantes se

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retrouveront en face d'une situatio
et d'une alternative semblables à
celles qui se présentent aujourd'hu
ou bien faire respecter la Convention
même au prix d'une intervention
militaire, chose qui leur répugnera
toujours infiniment, ou bien tolére
la violation et l'abolition de fait
de cette même Convention.

Les choses étant ainsi, n'est-c
pas préférable de reviser dès à prése
la Convention et d'y faire une pla
assez large au vœu commun
des Etats-Unis pour leur
imposer silence, puis donner en
revanche à la Porte une garantie
positive que l'Europe ne tolérera
de la part de ceux-ci aucune

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infraction à leurs rapports de vassalité avec la Turquie? Sir H. Bulwer incline à l'affirmative et je crois qu'il l'a laissé voir au Grand-Vizir. Quant à moi, Monsieur le Comte, s'il m'est permis d'avoir un avis, j'ose dire que cette opinion à laquelle je me suis rangé dès le début du grave incident né de l'élection de Bucharest, reçoit un singulier appui des dernières informations qui me parviennent de cette Capitale et du langage des députés Moldaves présents ici. On avait espéré que la Convention du 19 Août avait sinon résolu, du moins fermé pour un temps la question des

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Principautés. Mais voilà que la double élection de Mr Couza l'a couverte inopinément. Or, ce serait méprendre que de croire que la reconnaissance pure et simple de cette élection fera ce que n'a pas fait la Convention du 19 Août. La question demeurera entière avec un aiguillon de plus pour les espérances et pour les vœux des Roumains.

Voici d'ailleurs qu'un intérêt d'un ordre plus général se montre déjà engagé dans cette affaire. Il est bien remarquable qu'en ce moment c'est le parti conservateur en Valachie qui se rattache le plus étroitement à l'idée de l'union comme à une sauvegarde contre

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le parti radical, qui entoure le Prince Couza, et dont les coryphées sont les adversaires de ce dernier, le parti radical qui croit avec quelque raison que les derniers événements lui font beau jeu et qui redoute peut-être instinctivement l'union réelle et complète à cause du principe héréditaire et monarchique qui la suivrait de près, le parti radical s'apprête à exploiter à son profit exclusif un état de choses qui, à quelques égards et surtout au début, ne paraît pas de nature à affermir le pouvoir exécutif? Le Prince Couza, malgré la modération et la fermeté dont il a pu jusqu'à présent donner des indices plutôt que des

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la conduite du Cabinet Anglais
avec la vivacité, j'allais dire av
la violence de langage dont il
est coutumier, et ce mécontentemen
me paraît de bon augure.

Maintenant, Monsieur le Comte, si Votre Excellence me permet de me référer un instant à ma dernière dépêche et à l'exposé qu'elle renferme de la situation présente, telle qu'on peut la juger d'ici, je croirai être en mesure de marquer assez exactement le point où nous sommes près, si je ne me trompe, de nous rencontrer avec le Cabinet Anglais, dans l'supposition où ses tendances et ses opinions seraient conformes à

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with Turkey's stand toward them, a stand which the Treaty of Paris generated, or, I would rather say maintained.

I suppose, in fact, that the double election of Mr. Cuza, that is the personal union of the Principalities, be it recognized by the Powers, is impossible, and it is real only if the Romanians, whose aspirations for effective and complete union are livelier than ever, would endeavour, sooner or later or when opportunities would be favourable, to encroach again the Convention of August 19, proclaiming, for instance, the administrative union of the two provinces and the merging of the Assemblies into a single one. The question has already been mooted. All this shall be achieved without trouble and without interior disorders for they comply with the country's general will. But, then the guarantor powers will face a situation and alternative similar to the present one, or will they be obliged either to impose the observances of the Convention, even at the cost of a military intervention, a fact they whould infinitely loathe, or to tolerate the violation, actually, the abolition of this Convention.

The facts standing like that, would it not be better to have the Convention revised now and to grant sufficiently large space to the joint will of the Moldo-Wallachians in order to silence them, and then, to give, in exchange, to the Porte a positive security in the name of which Europe shall never tolerate them to encroach upon their vassalage to Turkey? Sir H. Bulwer agrees to the idea and I am sure that he will let the Great Vizir understand it too.

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Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Archives Diplomatiques, Correspondance Politique, Turquie, Vol. 339, pp. 215—217. French original.

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THE WINNING OF ROMANIA'S INDEPENDECE

Independence has been a leading question all through the history of the Romanian people. The resistance of the states, for centuries on end, against aggressors, the close relationship between the Romanians in order to withstand any common enemy naturally brought about the major event of 1877.

Soon after the Union of 1859, the Romanian nation continued its endeavours to do away with the effects of its special relationships with the Porte. First political and then military factors operated for the creation of an armed force capable to harness the human and material potentialities of the Romanian people to make it able to meet the requirements of a new liberation war.

The new relationships with the Ottoman Porte imposed with great dignity by the Romanian Ruling Princes Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859—1866) and Carol I, the conventions concluded with other states, the setting up of permanent diplomatic agencies in various European countries are as many political-diplomatic actions carried out in order to gain, step by step, the attributes of a sovereign state, to prepare the international sanctioning of independence by the progressive consolidation of each and every acquirement of national sovereignty.

Romania's political leaders, showing complete accord with the necessity of obtaining independence, opted for two ways. The first, the gaining of independence by the country's participation in the insurrectional movement of South-European peoples subjected to the Porte. The second way was to proclaim independance and to impose its recognition either by

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the country's joining in a possible war between a European Power and the Ottoman Empire, or by obtaining the assistance of the European powers interested in the creation of an independent Romanian state at the Danube.

After the outbreak of the Oriental crisis, Romania supported the fight for liberation waged by Balkan peoples, and on May 9, 1877, Mihail Kogălniceanu, the country's Foreign Minister, when proclaiming, on behalf of the legislative bodies the country's *de jure independence* stated that the Romanian countries have always been, all along their history, *independent de facto*, as there has never existed in any international convention whatsoever, a paragraph instituting the vassalage status for the Romanian Principalities. Facing the acts of unchallengend military Ottoman aggression, the Romanian parliament ascertained the existence of the state of war between Romania and the Ottoman Empire. Russia had declared war to Turkey in the spring of 1877 and displayed its forces on two fronts, in Europe and in Asia. In summer, as some unsuccessful operations of the Russian army in the Balkan front might have worsened, among others, Romania's political situation and could have turned the country into a stage of war, the Romanian Government decided to participate in this war, in the conditions of preserving the individuality of its army, and of placing the Romanian-Russian Western front under the command of the Romanian Prince. Gloriously hoisting again the Romanian flag in the battlefields where the forefathers of the Romanians had for centuries on end been the guardians of law and liberty, the Romanian army, laid heavy sacrifices for the defeat of the Ottoman army on the Balkan front, in the 1877—1878 years. The bravery of the Romanian soldiers was strengthened by the enthusiastic patriotism of the whole nation, as the liberation war found a resounding echo with the Romanian population of Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina, under Austro-Hungarian domination by then. In fact, numerous volunteers came from those territories to participate in the war laying down moving pages of national solidarity in the achievement of the major aspirations of the entire people.

After the proclamation of independence and the victories scored by its armies, the most important problem facing Romania was the international recognition of the act of

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May 9, 1877. Until that date, the country was subjected to the status defined under the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and the control of the seven guarantor European powers. The Congress of Berlin of 1878 recognized Romania's independence, sanctioning her joining with full powers the European concert of nations.

National independence gave a strong impetus to the country's economic and social development, and greatly influenced Romania's entire historical evolution on the road of social progress, favoured the ever more vigorous assertion of the Romanian people as a self-dependent nation.

DAN BERINDEI
Doctor of History

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66

1870, February 5, Belgrade. Instructions given by the Deputy Foreign Minister, D. Matić, to Serbia's Diplomatic Agent at Bucharest, concerning the Romanian Government's decision to assume for this country, in international relations, the name of "România".

Dear Sir,

Further to your report of the 16th, last month, registered under No. 21, I feel honoured to let you know about the joy with which the Princely Government received the news on the Romanian Government's desire to assume for its country, in international relations, the name of "România", in keeping with the national Constitution, after both countries had merged into a single state through the Union of the two principalities : Moldavia and Wallachia.

You are authorized, Mr. Representative, to convey to the Romanian Minister, that we cannot but be glad about the step taken by the Romanian Government, animated by the well-known and well-meaning desires regarding Romania's progress and the achievement of its righteous national aspirations.

On this occasion, would you recall, that, prompted by such friendly feelings, we have already used, since long, the name of "România" in our relations with her and, therefore, the present act of the Romanian Government, is not only a confirmation of our own practice in this context, but also a good opportunity, by the solidarity of our positions and of the historical destinies, to congratulate Romania for the step taken, wishing it the greatest success with foreign Courts.

Would you accept, Mr. Representative, my best regards,

Sincerely yours
Deputy Foreign Minister, Minister
of Education and the Cults
D. Matić

To H. E. Serbia's Representative at Bucharest.

Arhiv Srbije, Beograd, Knojažesko srpska agencija u Bukurestu, F.I. No. 28, Kut. 5/1870, No. 93. Serbian original.

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№ 399.
5. Фебруара 1870.
У Београду.

СРП. КРАЉ. ДРЖАВНА АРХИВА

Господине Заступниче,

Одговарајући на ваш извештај од 16 пр. м. № 21 част ми је јавити вам, како је Кнежевској влади мило било кад смо видели, да румунска влада жели, да се њеној земљи у међународним односајима даје титула „Румунија", сагласно са уставом земаљским, пошто су јединством прећашњих двеју Кнежевина, Молдавије и Влашке, стопљене сад обе земље у једну државу.

Ви сте, Господине Заступниче, овлашћени, да саопштите румунском Министру, како се ми у нашем одзивању добрим жељама за напредак Румуније и за остварење њених праведних народних тежња, само радовати можемо овом кораку румунске владе.

Том приликом изволите споменути, да смо ми, руковођени таквим пријатељским расположењем, и досада већ поодавно употребљавали титулу „Румунија" у нашим односајима с њом; и с тога овај садашњи акт румунске владе нама је само драго потврђење досадање наше практике у том погледу, него и повод да по солидарности нашег положаја и историјске судбине честитамо Румунији тај корак,

Господину Заступнику Србије у Букурешту.

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желети јој код страних дворова најбољи успех.

Примите, Господине Заступниче, и овом приликом уверење мога поштовања.

Заступник
Министра Иностраних Дела,
Министар
Просвете и Црквених Дела,
Д. Матић

Doc. 66 b

67

1874, September 7, Therapia. Diplomatic dispatch sent by the British Ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Henry G. Elliot, to Sir Edward Henry Stanley, Foreign Secretary, concerning the evident trends of economic and political independence of Romania.

Copy sent to Mr. Vivian
No. 176

Therapia, September 7th, 1874

My Lord,

Mr. Vivian, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General at Bucharest, having been here for the last few days, we have had various conversations on the affairs of the Principalities.

It was satisfactory to learn from Mr. Vivian that there had latterly been a marked improvement in the tone adopted at Bucharest, and a greater appearance of moderation in advancing the supposed rights of the Principalities, while on the other hand he will be able to assure the Romanian Government that however little contenance they are to expect from Her Majesty's Embassy in the assertion of claims at variance with the rights of the Sultan, and of the Governments having treaties with Him, they can calculate upon our always recommending the Porte to respond in a generous and liberal spirit to their wishes for such extention of their commercial privileges as the progress and present position of the Principalities may seem to render reasonable.

I wish, however, that I could add Mr. Vivian had been able in any way to modify the conviction. I have already conveyed to Your Lordships, as indeed he has likewise done, in reference to the fixed intention of the Prince to shake off all connection with the Porte, and to establish his own independence.

With the knowledge of this being His Highness' aim we are bound to keep it in view in the consideration of the different questions which arise between the Porte and the Vassal State.

Some, though not very important, commercial interests may seem to be involved in the question of the right of the Principalities to make their own Tariff, but how subordinate that consideration is to the political object in view may be judged by the fact that the Principalities would prefer sacrificing the former altogether to requesting as a concession from the Porte the authorization to make their own commercial treaties.

The new privilege thus obtained would lose its value as not sufficiently preparing the way for the further pretensions which, for the moment, are kept in the background.

When in the Assembly at Bucharest, Prince Charles' Minister[87] deliberately pronounced a speech afterwards published as a pamphlet and circulated as the political confession of faith of His Highness' Government, repudiating the very position of the Principalities as a Vassal State of the Empire

[87] Vasile Boerescu.

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y sent to Mr Vivian.

148

No. 176.

Thuapia September 7th 1874

My Lord,

Mr Vivian, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General at Buchanest, having been here for the last few days, we have had various conversations on the affairs of the Principalities.

It was satisfactory to learn from Mr Vivian that there had latterly been a marked improvement in the tone adopted at Buchanest, and a greater appearance of moderation in advancing the supposed rights of the Principalities, while on the other hand he will be able

The Earl of Derby

Doc. 67 a

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able to assure the Roumanian Government that however little countenance they are to expect from Her Majesty's Embassy in the assertion of claims at variance with the rights of the Sultan, and of the Governments having treaties with Him, they can calculate upon our always recommending the Porte to respond in a generous and liberal spirit to their wishes for such extension of their commercial privileges as the progress and present position of the Principalities may seem to render reasonable.

I wish, however, that I could add that Mr. Vivian had been able

Doc. 67 b

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able in any way to modify the Convention.
I have already conveyed to your Lordship,
as indeed he has likewise done, in reference
to the supposed intention of the Prince to
shake off all connection with the Porte,
and to establish his own independence.

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The new privilege thus
obtained would lose its value as
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the further pretensions which, for the
moment, are kept in the back ground.

When in the Assembly at
Bucharest Prince Charles Minister
deliberately pronounced a Speech,
afterwards

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afterwards published as a pamphlet and circulated as the political confession of faith of His Highness' Government, repudiating the very position of the Principalities as a Vassal State of the Empire, and claiming every right exercised by independent Kingdoms, the guaranteeing Powers cannot seriously pretend to believe that the Principalities have the intention of adhering to the international arrangements.

These aspirations for complete independence are certainly natural, and may perhaps be justifiable, but

2

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but their existence cannot be ignored,
and the question for the decision of the
Cabinets is whether their development
is to be tacitly encouraged so as to
lead gradually to an event which it may
not be possible ultimately to prevent, or
whether by a former attitude the
Principalities should — be taught
that the fundamental principles of 1856
are to be maintained.

Much may be said again
either course, but I believe less
danger — will attend the latter.

Only once, to the best of my
recollection, has any Government

Mavr

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thrown resolution in dealing with the
Principalities, and that was when
Prince Bismark announced his
intention of appealing to the Pole for
the justice which he considered withheld
from German subjects in reference to the
Strasberg Railway Convention.

Under the circumstances
of the case that appeal may have
been of doubtful propriety, but the
Cabinet of Berlin was known to be
in earnest, and the success of it was
immediate and complete.

On all other occasions a very
different

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different line was followed with results tending little to the dignity of the cabinets but much to the encouragement of the Principalities in their encroachments

We have seen identic notes from the Consuls General at Bucharest, protesting against as projected measure, contemptuously answered by its immediate formal promulgation.

Resolutions of the Ambassadors assembled in Conference, solemnly sealed by official Protocols, met with no greater respect: they were quietly disregarded by the Principalities which invariably succeeded

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succeeded in having their own way,
and it is not to be wondered at if they
now expect the same thing.

Prince Ghika said to me
perfectly openly "We will make our
own treaties, the Porte will protest, and
that will be an end of the matter."

I cannot believe it to be
deemed policy to flinch from meeting
a present difficulty at the cost of having
to deal with a much more serious
one hereafter, and it would therefore,
I believe, be desirable that Mr Vivian
should be instructed to intimate to the
Roumanian Government that, in the
event

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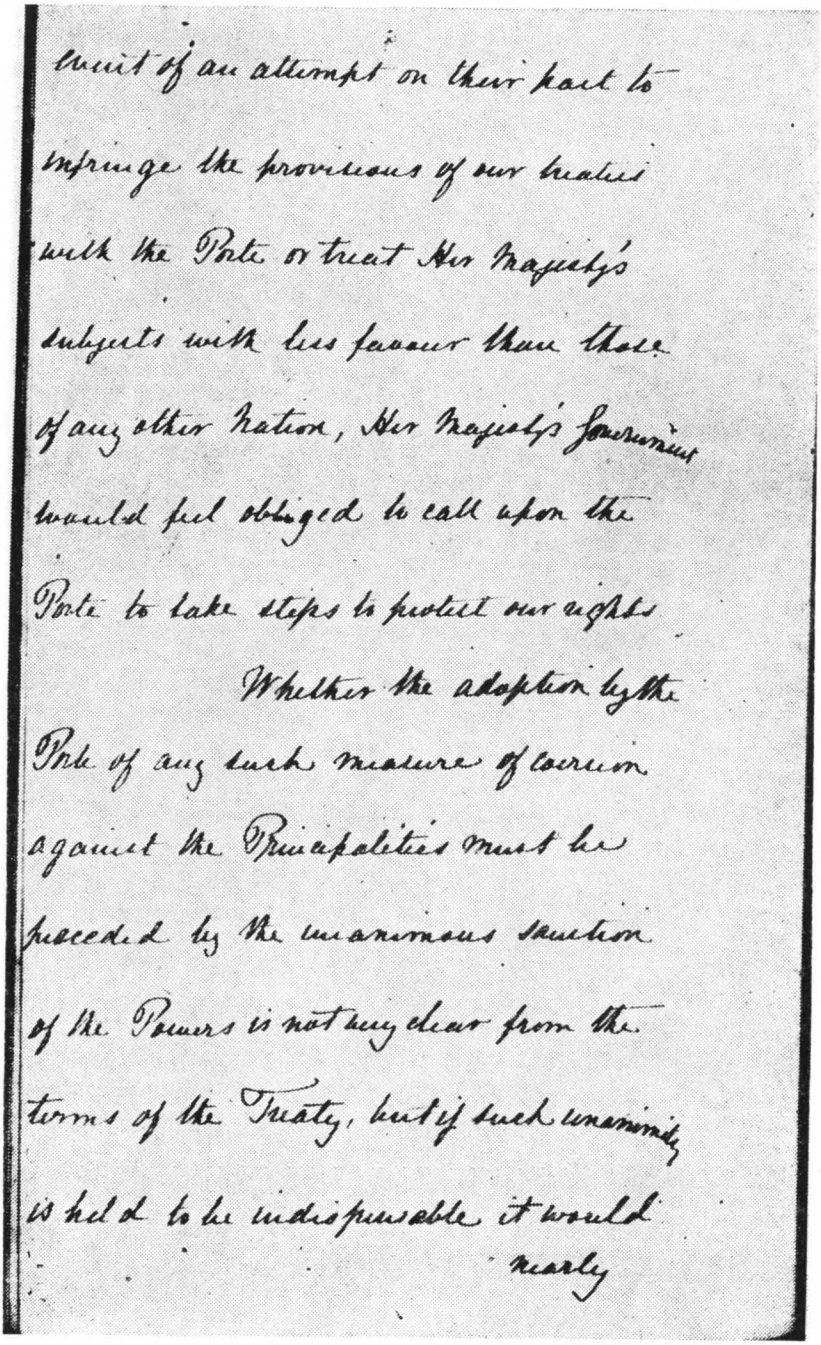

Doc. 67 j

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nearly amount to a declaration of their practical immunity from all control.

In that case there would seem to be nothing left but to allow the Prince's Government to pursue its way for the assent of the Austrians, and perhaps other Governments to such measures could not in the present instance be objected, but it would not then be to our credit to continue to protest against the legality of the course which the Principalities are inclined to follow, if we are prepared to submit tamely to see those protests

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protests disregarded as they have been
on former occasions.

I have the honour to be, with
the highest respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's
most obedient,
humble servant,
Henry Ellis

Doc. 67 l

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and claiming every right exercised by independent Kingdoms, the guaranteeing Powers cannot seriously pretend to belive that the Principalities have the intention to adhering to the international arrangements.

These aspirations for complete independence are certainly natural, and may perhaps be justifiable, but their existence cannot be ignored, and the question for the decision of the Cabinets is whether their development is to be tacitly encouraged so as to lead gradually to an event which it may not be possible ultimately to prevent, or whether by a firmer attitude the Principalities should be taught that the fundamental principles of 1856 are to be maintained.

Much may be said against either course, but I believe less danger will attend the latter.

Only once, to the best of my recollection, has any Government shown resolution in dealing with the Principalities, and that was when Prince Bismark announced his intention of appealing to the Porte for the justice which he considered withheld from German subjects in reference to the Strusberg Railway Convention.

Under the circumstances of the case that appeal may have been of doubtful propriety, but the Cabinet of Berlin was known to be in earnest, and the success of it was immediate and complete.

On all other occasions a very different line was followed with results tending little to the dignity of the cabinets but much to the encouragement of the Principalities in their encroachements.

We have seen identic notes from the Consuls General at Bucharest protesting against a projected measure, contemptuously answered by its immediate formal promulgation.

Resolutions of the Ambassadors assembled in Conference, solemnly recorded in Offcial Protocols, met with no greater respect : they were quietly disregarded by the Principalities which invariably succeeded in having their own way, and it is not be to be wondered at if they now expect the same thing.

Prince Ghika [88] said to me perfectly openly "We will make our own treaties, the Porte will protest, and that will be an end of the matter".

I cannot believe it to be a sound policy to flinch from meeting a present difficulty at the cost of having to deal with a much more serious one hereafter, and it would therefore, I believe, be desirable that Mr. Vivian should be instructed to intimate to the Roumanian Government that, in the event of an attempt on their part to infringe the provisions of our treaties with the Porte or treat Her Majesty's subjects with less favour that those of any other nation, Her Majesty's Government would feel obliged to call upon the Porte to take steps to protect our rights.

Whether the adoption by the Porte of any such measure of coercion against the Principalities must be preceded by the unanimous sanction of the Powers is not very clear from the terms of the Treaty, but if such unanimity is held to be indispensable it would nearly amount to a declaration of their practical immunity from all control.

[88] Ioan Grigore Ghika, Romania's Diplomatic Agent at Constantinople.

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In that case there would seem to be nothing left but to allow the Prince's Government to pursue its way for the assent of the Austrian, and perhaps other Governments to such measures could not in the present instance be expected, but it would not then be to our credit to continue to protest against the legality of the course which the Principalities are inclined to follow, if we are prepared to submit tamely to see those protests disregarded as they have been on former occasions.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

Henry Elliot

To the Eearl of Derby

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, General Correspondence, F.O. 78, Turkey, Vol. 2760, pp. 148—153. English original.

68

1876, July 24, Petersburg. Diplomatic despatch addressed by the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Belgium at Petersburg, Count G. Errenbault de Dudzeele, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, Count d'Aspremont-Lynden, on the content of the "seven-claims memorandum" sent by the Romanian Government to the Ottoman Porte in June 16/28, 1876.

Legation of Belgium
Nr. 121
Annex

St. Petersburg, July 24, 1876

My Lord,

I am most honoured to send you herewith an analysis of the memorandum [89], and I think I can warrant its scrupulous accuracy, adrressed by the Romanian Government to the Porte and circulated to the Treaty of Paris [90] signatories.

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[89] — European diplomats regarded the memorandum written by Mihail Kogălniceanu on June 15/27, 1876, as a demand of independence. Cf. Romanian edition of the Memorandum in *Documente privind istoria României: Războiul de independență* (Documents regarding Romania's History. The War of Independence), Publishing House of the Academy of the R. S. of Romania, Bucharest, 1952, vol. I (II), pp. 193—194.

[90] — The Treaty signed on March 18/30, 1856 at the Paris Congress of Peace.

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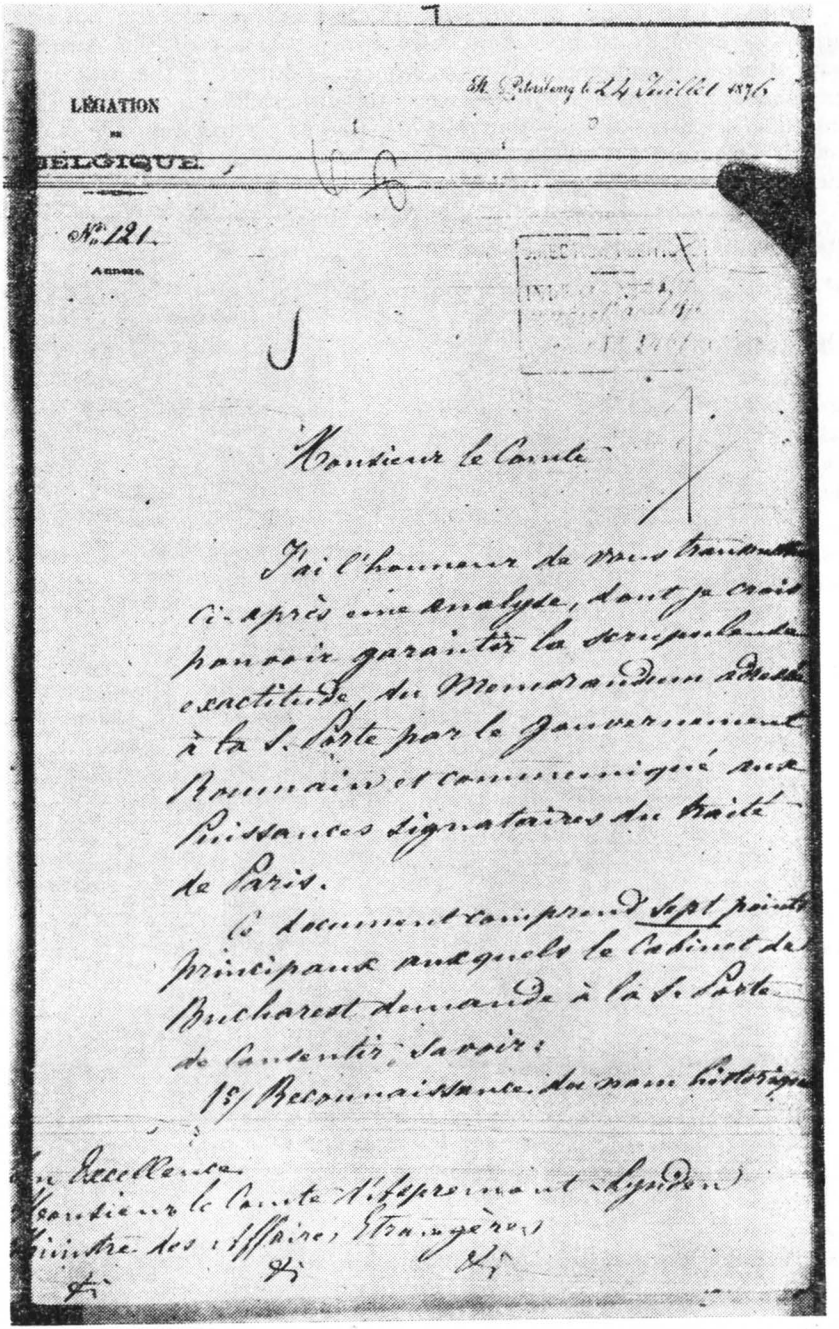

LÉGATION
DE
BELGIQUE.

St. Petersbourg le 24 Juillet 1876

N° 121.
Annexe.

Monsieur le Comte

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-après une analyse, dont je crois pouvoir garantir la scrupuleuse exactitude, du Memorandum adressé à la S. Porte par le Gouvernement Roumain et communiqué aux Puissances signataires du traité de Paris.

Ce document comprend sept points principaux auxquels le Cabinet de Bucharest demande à la S. Porte de consentir, savoir:

1°/ Reconnaissance du nom historique

Son Excellence
Monsieur le Comte d'Aspremont-Lynden
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères
&c &c &c

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de "Roumanie".

2°/ Admission d'un Agent Roum
dans le Corps diplomatique.

3°/ Reconnaissance de la juri
:tion de l'Agent Roumain sur le
nationaux établis en Turquie

4°/ Inviolabilité du territoire Ro
:main et délimitation des îles du
Danube.

5°/ Conclusion avec la Turquie
Conventions commerciale, postale
télégraphique et d'extradition
malfaiteurs.

6°/ Reconnaissance des passeport
Roumains par les autorités turqu

7°/ Fixation de la frontière du Do
du Danube, de manière à assure
aux riverains Roumains la lib
jouissance de la partie des eaux
du fleuve qui baigne leur territo

En donnant connaissance de
ces réclamations, par la voie télégra
à l'Ambassade de Turquie à P

Doc. 68 b

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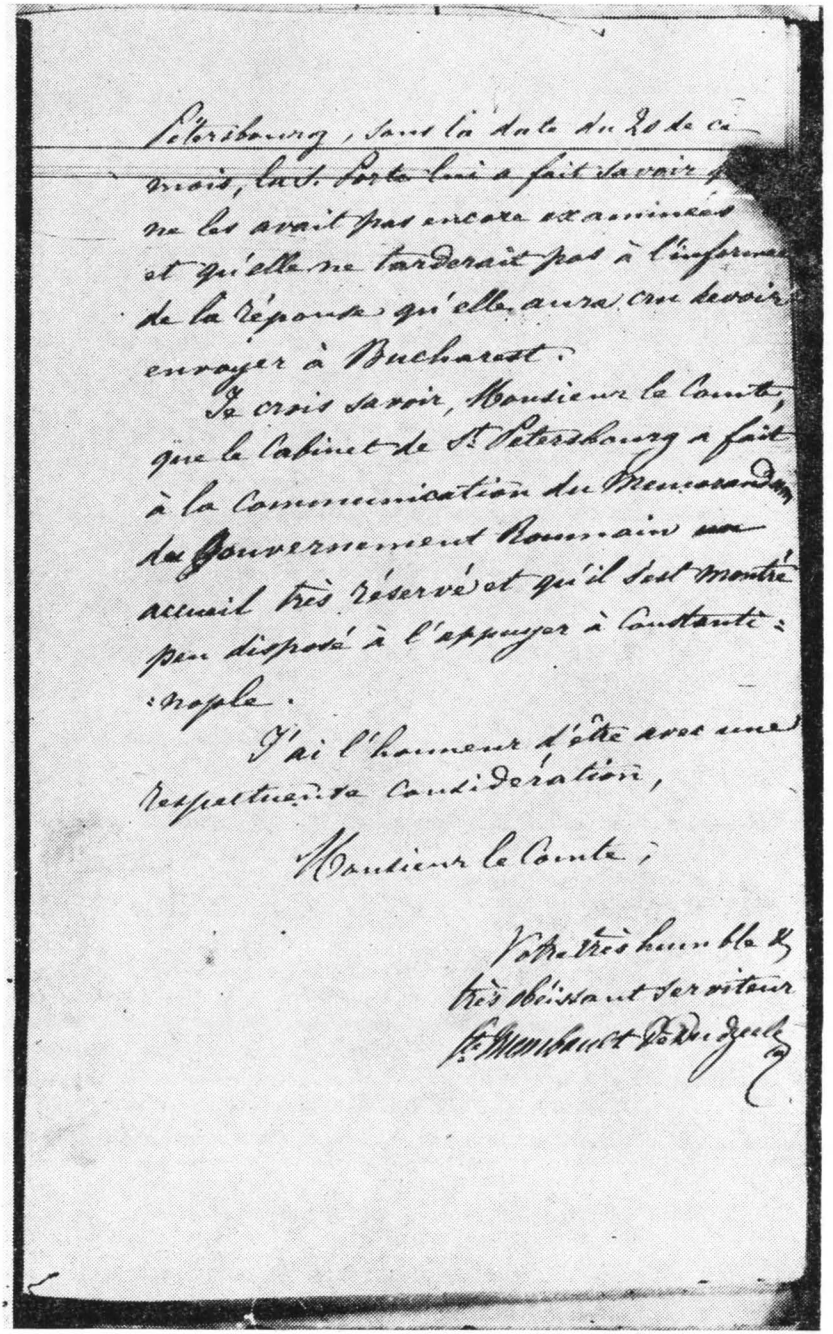

Pétersbourg, sous la date du 20 de ce
mois, la S. Porte lui a fait savoir qu'
ne les avait pas encore examinées
et qu'elle ne tarderait pas à l'informer
de la réponse qu'elle aura cru devoir
envoyer à Bucharest.

Je crois savoir, Monsieur le Comte,
que le Cabinet de St. Petersbourg a fait
à la Communication du Memorandum
du Gouvernement Roumain un
accueil très réservé et qu'il s'est montré
peu disposé à l'appuyer à Constanti-
-nople.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une
respectueuse considération,

Monsieur le Comte,

Votre très humble &
très obéissant serviteur
Ste. Membault de Dudzeele

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This document contains seven main points for which the Bucharest Cabinet demands the Sublime Porte's agreement :

1. Recognition of the historical name of "Romania".
2. Acceptance of a Romanian agent in the diplomatic corps.
3. Recognition of the Romanian agent's jurisdiction over the co-national livings in Turkey.
4. Inviolability of the Romanian territory and defining of the Danubian islands.
5. Conclusion with Turkey of some trade, postal, telegraphic and extradition conventions.
6. Recognition of Romanian passports by the Turkish authorities.
7. Settlement of the Danube Delta frontier in such manner as to secure for the Romanian riparians the free use of the river course, flowing through their territory.

Being informed by cable addressed to the Turkish Embassy at St. Petersburg about these claims, on the 21st day of this month, the Sublime Porte answered that it had not examined them yet but it would not take any delay on conveying the answer it would deem fit to Bucharest.

It seems, My Lord, that the Government of St. Petersburg, received the Romanian Government's notification, without committing itself, and that it was not willing to help it with Constantinople.

I feel honoured to be with respectful consideration, My Lord,

Obediently and Most Humbly Yours
Errembault de Dudzeele

To H. E. The Count d'Aspremont Lynden, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et du Commerce Extérieur, Bruxelles, Correspondance Politique, Légations, Russie, vol. 13. French original.

69

1877, May 21, Bucharest. Cable sent by the Press Correspondent of the Havas Agency, concerning the proclamation of Romania's independence.

Bucharest, May 21, 1877, 20:00 h.

Havas — Paris

Cable letter

Broken railway bridge on Olt delays the Russians. Deputies, Fleva included, ask whether the Government has formerly informed the power on broken-off relations with Turkey ; on Chambers' intention to proclaim independence. Kogălniceanu declares : We are free, independent nation, but to have our independence accepted, we must advocate for it to Europe. The motion voted by unanimity with 79 ayes, determines the Chamber to take

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MINISTERE DE L'INTÉRIEUR.

ADMINISTRATION des LIGNES TÉLÉGRAPHIQUES.

Bureau

SERVICE OFFICIEL

N° 31767

Expédiée le 21 à 11 h. 20 m. du s.

10732

2531-70

Dépêche Télégraphique.

453

Bukarest, le 21 Mai 1877. 5 h. 20 m. du s.

Havas,

Paris

Pont railway de la Olto rompu retardera russes.

Deputés - fléva demande si gouvernement informa officiellement puissances rupture liens avec Turquie, intention chambres proclamer indépendance. Cogalniccano déclare : sommes nation libre, indépendante, mais pour faire accepter indépendance devons plaider auprès Europe. motion adoptée unanimité 79 porte chambre prend acte guerre entre Roumanie, Turquie. Rupture liens avec Porte et indépendance absolue reçurent consécration officielle, compte sur justice puissances garantes — Pognon

Pour copie
Le chef de service
Elercy

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cognizance of the war between Romania and Turkey. Breach of relations with the Porte and absolute independence officially sanctioned, they rely on the right judgement of guarantor powers — Pognon.

For copy
Head of Department
E. Leroy

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Archives Diplomatiques, C. P. C. Turquie — Bucharest, Vol. 41, p. 453. French original.

70

1877, September 17, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by the United States Consul at Bucharest, Adolf Stern, to Evarts, U. S. Secretary of State, on the participation and conduct of the Romanian armies in the Plevna battlefield.

Consular Agency of the United
States of America
No. 124

Bucharest, September 17th, 1877

Hon. M. Evarts
Secretary of State

Washington D.C.

Sir,

Prince Charles, after issuing a manifesto to his people, has led the Roumanian army across the Danube and is now cooperating with the Russians before Plevna held by Osman Pasha. This cooperation, though expected ever since last April, has filled a portion of the people with serious apprehensions, another portion with sanguine hopes. Those of the first named class of the people think, and their views are embodied in a pamphlet published yesterday, that the Chambers had only declared the necessity to defend the country but not to cross the Danube, and that Mr. Ion Brătianu (now Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior, Finance and War) had acted inconstitutionally by sending the army into Bulgaria. Besides, it would have been sufficient to send 15,000 men to join the Russians, while Prince Charles should have remained home. The appointment of Prince Charles as Commander in Chief of a combined corps with a Russian general as the Chief of his staff was no compensation for the possible danger and certain sacrifices of the country and for the enormous expense involved in the cooperation of the whole army. The Khedive [91], the pamphlet points out — has only sent a small contingent, Piemont sent some 14,000 men in the Crimean War and notwithstanding this,

[91] The Sultan of Egypt is also called Khedive.

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Recd Oct 13

Ack as interesting — Your [illegible]

deWvadj

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED OCT 8 1877 OF STATE

JPC 10 Oct

No. 124

Ck. Agency of the U. S. of America

Ack [illegible]

Bucharest September 17th 1877.

Hon. Wm Evarts

Secretary of State

Washington D.C.

Sir.

Prince Charles, after issuing a manifesto to his people, has led the Roumanian army across the Danube and is now co-operating with the Russians before Plevna held by Osman Pasha. This co-operation, though expected ever since last April, has filled a portion of the people with serious apprehensions, another portion with sanguine hopes. Those of the first named class of the people think, — and their views are embodied in a pamphlet published yesterday —, that the Chambers had only declared the necessity to defend the country but not to cross the Danube, and that Mr. Ion Bratianu (now Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior, Finance and — War)

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is pronounced a conditio sine qua non for the Russian army.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant

Adolphus Liddell

P.S. I add a translation of the last official "Bulletin", just received:

"Parudin 15 September.

"On the 14th inst. the Grand Duke Chief Commander has inspected the positions and decided the places for the new batteries. On the 13th and 14th, the Russo-Roumanian batteries continued firing. The Turks did not reply. Yesterday, at 6 in the morning, the Turks opened a violent fire upon the Grivitza redoubt and attacked it, but were repulsed with the aid of the Russian and Roumanian reserves. The fight lasted 3¼ hours. From the 7th to the 14 inst. our losses amounted to about 12.500 soldiers killed and wounded, and 300 officers. The losses of the Roumanians are

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obtained the right to partake of the Paris Congress and become Italy. The pamphlet concludes : "The whole military force of a country should not be exposed except for its immediate defence. In the present case, 15,000 men would have sufficed to affirm the existence of Roumania, to acquire a claim to the gratitude of the Christians of the Orient and secure the recognition of the Roumanian Independence in the future Congress".

For the first time, after two hundred years, the Roumanians have gone to war, and they fight bravely. According to reliable and best informed correspondents (among whom is Mr. Mac Gahan, of the "Daily News", formerly of the "N. Y. Herald") the battle before Plevna which is still continuing, began by a 3 days artillery fire, about 120—150 guns being in position. The general attack on all the position was made by about 40,000 Russians and 20,000 Roumanians. They attacked on the right and carried the redoubt of Grivitza, and were repulsed in the centre, while the Russian left wing under General Skobeleff, carried two redoubts, on the Lovatch road. This General has evidently closely studied the American War [92] respecting the attack of redoubts ; he sent forward two regiments of line and two battalions of sharp-shooters to assault the redoubts, after pouring artillery upon them for three hours at a distance of 1,000—1,500 yards. Instead of firing while advancing, they went forward with the guns on their shoulders, music playing, banners flying and drums beating. The moment General Skobeleff saw them show sings of wavering he sent a regiment after them, followed them up by a fourth regiment and even then, not feeling sure of the result, he led the last battalion to the assault in person and swept through the redoubts like a whirlwind. These two redoubts were exposed to the fire of the other Turkish position, which had not been carried and after holding it for 24 hours, sustaining 6 attacks of the Turks and vainly demanding reinforcements. Skobeleff was obliged to abandon the position leaving two guns. The Russian commander was unable or unwilling to reinforce Skobeleff and this makes it probable that, though the Russians have not withdrawn from their position in front of Plevna, yet the continuation of the attacks offer little chance of success. They were repulsed with great losses all around the centre and as the situation now is, the capture of Grivitza is of little use and will probably have to be abandoned.

Since then, however, the Russian have repulsed two attacks of the Turks upon Grivitza.

The Roumanian troops fought splendidly, even the militia [93], which was in the first line of attack, vied in bravery with the Russians.

My correspondent states further that the Russians have no chance of success as long as they adhere to their present plan of campaign. They have occupied too long a line and this gives them a numerical inferiority on all points. A change in the chief command and staff is pronounced a condition sine qua non for the Russian army.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant

Adolf Stern

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[92] The American War of Independence.
[93] Foot soldiers (*dorobanți* troops).

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Stern

To Honourable M. Evarts,
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

The National Archives of the United States, Dispatches from United States Consuls at Bucharest, 1866—1906, Roll T. 285, vol. 2, Report No. 124. English original.

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THE MAKING OF THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL UNITARY STATE

After the Revolution of 1848, the Romanians of Transylvania who had reached the awareness of their national individuality, of their dignity and value, continued their organized resistance and opposition to the restored absolutist policy carried out by the House of Habsburg, a policy of oppresions against any desire of emancipation, and demanded social and national rights for themsleves.

For the Romanians, as well as for other nationalities of Transylvania and Hungary, the conclusion of the dualist pact between the Austrian aristocracy and bourgeoisie on the one hand and the Hungarian landlords and bourgeoisie on the other, and the establishment of the double monarchy of Austro-Hungary in 1867, was equal not only to an annihilation of the little political and administrative autonomy Transylvania had boasted of, but also to a worsened social oppression. Social antagonisms in Transylvania grew into national struggle for the overwhelming majority of the oppressed inhabitants was formed of Romanians, while the aristocracy was particularly Hungarian.

The Romanian bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the working-class, the parties, the cultural and economic organizations, religious denominations of the Romanians, all of them protested against the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary and claimed for equal national rights, recognition of the Romanian language in the administration, justice and culture. The Romanians decidedly rose up against the Hungarian laws on the nationalities and the laws on education, which disregarded the existence of the Romanian nationality and tried to turn them Magyar by all means. The 1892—1894

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memorandum action in Trasylvania, which presents to European and American public opinion the difficult situation of the Romanian people and stirs the sympathy and the protests or international public opinion, is a good instance thereof.

The Romanian liberation movement of Transylvania was perseveringly supported by Romania, morally and materially. The leading forces of the Romanians in Transylvania firmly conducted the struggle for national liberation from the Austro-Hungarian domination and for completion of the political unity with Romania.

The outbreak of World War I faced Romania with a problem of paramount importance, the very fate of the Romanian nation. By then, all the social and political forces throughout the Romanian land were engaged in the struggle for national unity. Therefore, in August 1916, Romania joined in the war, alongside the French-British-Russian alliance, which had recognized the right to unification of the territories inhabitted by the Romanians and had promised to support after victory their claim for the completion of the unity of the Romanian national state.

Launching the hostilities against Austria-Hungary, for the liberation of Transylvania, the Romanian army devoid of the active support promised by the allies, in fighting technique and effectives, was compelled to withdraw during the 1916—1917 years as far as Moldavia from their exposed position in front of the central powers armies, much superior and having the lead on all the fronts from the Baltic Sea to Salonika in Greece. The heroic resistance on the Moldavian front and then the defeat of the German and Austro-Hungarian offensive at Mărăşti, Mărăşeşti and Oituz stirred the admiration of the leaders of the great powers, while the Romanian soldiers' bravery was laid down for ever in the memory of mankind.

Surrounded all over, in the autumn of 1917, owing to the development of the German-Russian front, Romania was obliged to accept, in the spring of 1918, the particularly hard conditions, of peace imposed by the Central Powers. The allies, the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy and the associated states recognized Romania's difficult situation

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and had deep feelings of remorse for not having been able to provide their direct and efficient material support [94].

The Romanian people did not ratify the condition of peace imposed upon it, and resumed alongside of the allies the hostilities against the Central Powers early in Nowember 1918, and drove away their armies from this country's territory. At the same time, by intensifying its fight for liberty, in the conditions created by the development of the revolutionary event which led to the fall of Czarism and of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Romanians in the historical provinces still under foreign domination solemnly declared their right to selfdetermination, by the triumph of the principle of nationalities and their union with Romania for all centuries. This grandious act did not need special preparation of the public opinion as it has already been made for centuries on end. As if by consensus, the Romanians sent their delegations to the National Assembly of Alba-Iulia, which, on December 1, 1918, sanctioned the wish for union of our entire nation, achieving the completion of the Romanian national unitary state. The Peace Treaty of Versailles did nothing more than confirm a *de facto* situation created and fulfilled through the century-long struggle of the Romanian people.

ŞTEFAN HURMUZACHE

[94] We mention in this sense the letter of April 22, 1918, sent by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson to the Secretary of State Robert Lansing. The Library of Congress Presidential Papers, Woodrow Wilson Papers, 1915—1921.

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71

1881, Fragment from a memorandum written by Count Kálnoky, Prime Minister of Hungary, in which he realistically admits the situation of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian dualist state and their hopes to unite to Romania.

1881

Memorial

The question of the nationalities in Austria-Hungary, its effects upon the external policy of the Monarchy (dictated by H. E. Count Kálnoky, Minister of the Royal House and Foreign Secretary).

. . . . . .

It is in this way that the situation presents itself with the Romanian racial element. Obviously, the Royal Hungarian Government is focussing its attention on offering general and unconditional recognition to the Hungarian state idea. Naturally, when it operates in school or in public services in the sense of broadening the sphere of usage of the Hungarian language, it aims at preparing a gradual absorbtion of the other nationalities. For, the Hungarian element, although superior to each and every national element in the province, is numerically overwhelmed by the latter. In the total population of the provinces belonging to the Hungarian Crown amounting to 15,500,000, the Hungarians form a minority, which, even according to most favouring estimates, leave far back the figure of 7,000,000.

The figures pointing to the numerical strength of the total Romanian racial element are almost equal to the above. Only that, part of them had been able to unite into a national state. Grown up from a modest starting point, the Romanian state knew how to gain recognition of its independence, then, gradually its international rank and position. The capacity of cultural development in the sense of modern state ideas cannot be denied to the Roma-

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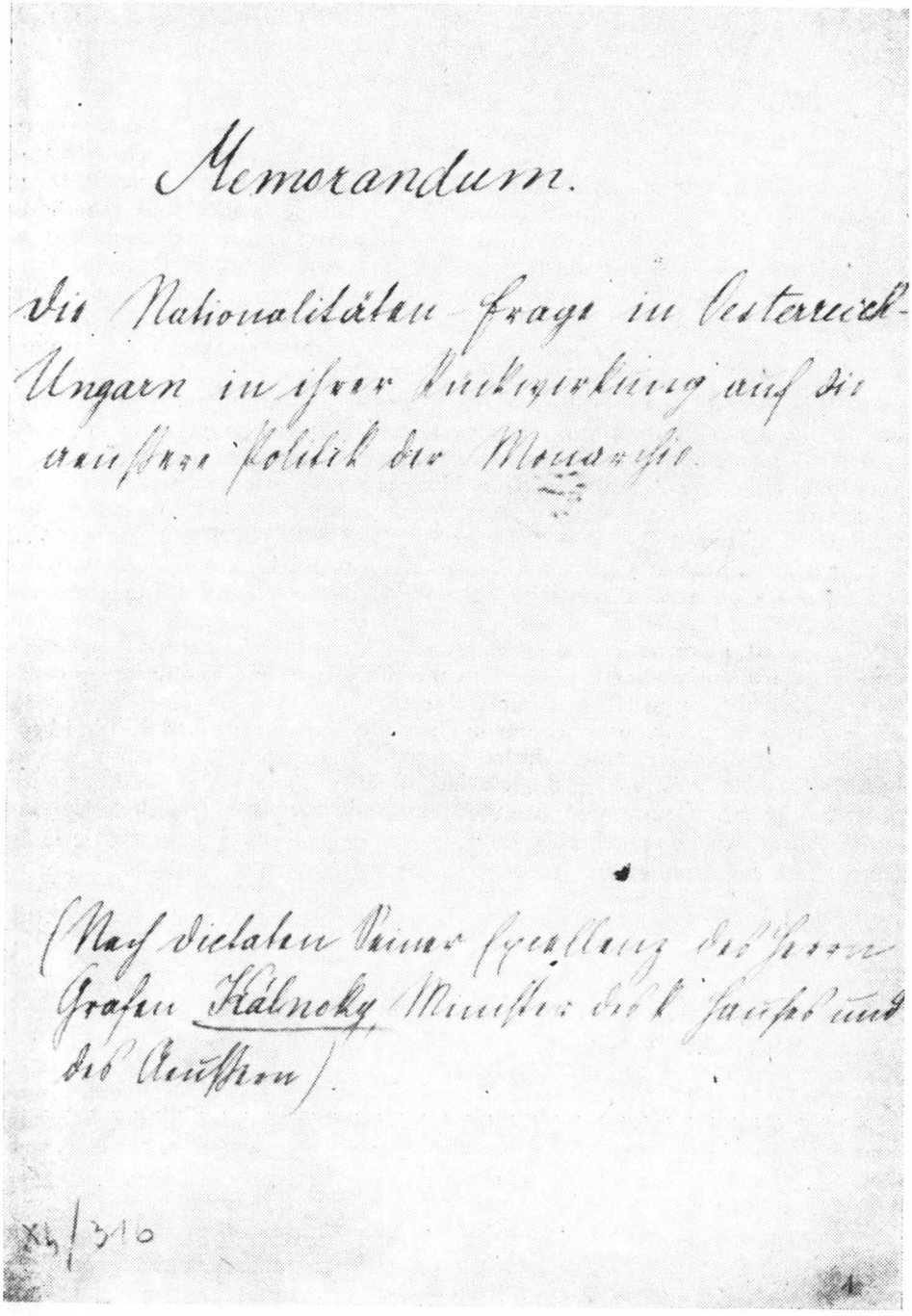

Memorandum.

Die Nationalitäten-Frage in Oesterreich-Ungarn in ihrer Rückwirkung auf die äussere Politik der Monarchie.

(Nach dictaten Seiner Excellenz des Herrn Grafen Kálnoky, Minister des k. Hauses und des Aeussern).

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nian people. The operation of its national spirit led to the setting up — and, after all considerations, to a lasting establishment —of a state, of course not irreprochable, but full of life and efficiency.

Under any circumstances, it would have been difficult to avoid the rebound of these facts on the Romanian subjects of St. Stephen's Crown. Here this rebound coincided with a policy [of imposing] the language, which is not justified in itself, which was looked upon as a mere expression of an inimical administrative policy and which unmercifully tramples under foot the rights of the national minorities. Even when the Romanians, more nonprejudicial as they are, took into account the position of their population, so large in number in the province, they felt obliged to complain of neglect and of their being estranged from the centre. Their representation in the Hungarian Diet has always been minimal. There has never been any Romanian to have a prominent public function. Any Romanian talent, who has his path towards Bucharest smoothed, has never had a road opened to him towards state functions in the Hungarian capital. Suspicion and reproach have been connected to national movements, even with more neutral domains.

Inevitably, the Romanians from Hungary have often turned their looks towards their akin state, which from a state under Ottoman suzeranity, uplifted itself to the status of a member of the family of European nations, equal in rights internationally, which increases its forces, strengthens its military capacity, underrated at first, but, which has obviously gained international power and prestige. It has always offered with pleasure a shelter to the dissatisfied elements in the present and a hope for the future. Romania's population arduously joined its voice to the complaints concerning denationalization and arbitrariness. It was impossible for the Royal Government to stay indifferent to such serious phenomena. But the consequences of its intervention have not been welcome. Mutual suspicion, reciprocal antipathy, and in some circles even iritation are dominating in many domains our relations with a state, with which to maintain the best and the most friendly relations would constitute the undeniable interest of our foreign policy, particularly of our commercial policy.

Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien, Politisches Archiv XL, Interna, K. 316. German original.

72

1891, June 25, Budapest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by the General Consul of Great Britain at Budapest, Arthur Nicholson, to the British Foreign Secretary, revealing the discriminatory policy applied to the Romanians in Transylvania and their struggle for liberation.

During my recently finished journey, in Transylvania I have met with all the intellectuals the feeling of very great dissatisfaction, which was given voice to and took shape by a well-organized opposition system. Moreover, the Kingdom of Romania does not limit itself to openly express its sympathy

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for its oppresed brethren, but there rather is there a concern with exploring the best means to support the latter in their struggle.

The claims of the Transylvanian Romanians are determined, first of all, by the Magyarization of the schools supported by them from church funds. It is almost impossible to have a sufficient number of Romanian teachers speaking Hungarian, and therefore they fear that the church national schools will be supplanted by State Magyar Schools. The claims of the Romanians for Romanian high schools have been left unsolved and since 1864 no Romanian gymnasium could be opened. The fifth high school of their own was even closed.

A recent disposition of the Ministry of Education concerning the gymnasium of Belinţ, supported by the Greek-Roman Consistorium of Oradea, stirred great excitement. The minister disposed that in the future all the courses, but for religion and Romanian literature, should be given in Magyar which would be tantamount to closing the school.

I have met Saxons and Romanians who declared themselves fully agreable to the idea that the attack at the school did nothing else than agitate the population without being able to reach its Magyarization aim.

The peasant learning in a Magyar school, against his will and without pleasure, forgets very quickly this idiom after graduation. As for the people belonging to the higher strata of society, living in a multilingual country, they speak anyway, several languages, and, undoubtedly, have learned the official state language on their own will. The Saxons and Romanians finish their studies, without exception at the Universities of Pest and Cluj to get their state diploma. But their stay and treatment there are of a nature to increase the antipathy against the Magyars.

I have paid a visit to a Romanian Gymnasium and a girls' high school, which seemed to be in excellent condition.

The Transylvanian Association for Literature, set up in order to provide higher education to the Romanians in Hungary, scored, in spite of the limitating interference of the state, remarkable results : 3,000 high-school pupils, 150 students attending Magyar Universities, 100 at Vienna, and a couple in Germany, Romania and Belgium and benefitting of its material support. One cannot say any more that the Romanians are just a people of peasants. Unfortunately, there is an iminent danger of the development of a consciencious proletariat. As public services are closed for the Romanians, they grow the number, too large anyway, of the lawyers and physicians or become journalists. A lot emigrate to Romania, other become tradesmen and the Saxons have told me, that the Romanians are very good merchants, indeed. In my personal cantacts with the Romanians, I have been amazed by their general culture and their receptive minds.

Another reason of their complaints is the fact that in matters pertaining to the press the old dispositions dating from the Austrian absolutism times are still in force. Offences were more often tried by the Saxon courts of laws in Sibiu, and are now transferred in Cluj, to be tried by the Hungarian judges or to Hungarian tribunals. Some five or six editors are permanently in

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jail, serving sentences of 6—12 months. Against the Hungarian laws, in all press trials, the defendant was fined, being requested to pay the trial expenditures, no matter how the trial ended.

The comitus of Braşov with whom I discussed all these questions, assured me that the press trials could not be avoided although the government was most lenient towards the respective wrongdoers. Besides, the newspapers are subsidized by the Romanian Kindgom, which was confirmed by a Romanian editor ; so, for instance, the Romanian Royal Government subscribed for a large number of copies to the Romanian reviews published in German. As a matter of fact, I could notice that the tone of the Pest press is by no means cool when approaching Transylvanian matters, and the Romanian articles, sued under the criminal law, are more often than not, mere answers to the attacks launched by the capital city newspapers.

Moreover, the special electoral law for Transylvania is liable to give rise to complaints. In token of protest against the exceptional laws aflicting Transylvania, all Romanians from Hungary decided to keep aloof from the polls. While in Hungary, which is much richer, the right to vote is connected to the direct tax of 5 florins, in Transylvania, the poll tax is of 8 florins. Besides, the Szeklers and the Hungarians have preserved their old electoral privileges, which has almost established for them the universal sufrage. All noblemen, and they are all of Hungarian descent, who have benefitted from the electoral right in 1872, had this right for life. Thus, today 67.4 per cent of the Transylvanian electorate are noblemen. To this a geometry of the constituencies is added, as they are cautiously changing and adapting themselves to the fluctuation of the population, leaving aside the fact that in the purely Romanian countries, a constituency is formed of thousand of voters, while those with mixed population amount to no more than a hundred. The inequity is even worse as, in the documents concerning Transylvania's incorporation to Hungary, the inhabitants of the former, irrespective of their nationality, are set on absolutely equal terms with the citizens of Hungary.

Finally, the justice and internal administration are open to most serious criticism. Romanians are excluded by all sort of tricks from administrative offices, obtained through elections, although in some districts they form 96—97 per cent of the population, and they never abstain from the vote. Similarly, state functions are totally inaccessible. According to statistic report examined by me, only 2 per cent of all state jobs are fulfilled by people of Romanian nationality... Romanians and Saxons are complaining about the corruption of the functionaries, a fact so widely spread in Hungary, that it cannot offer a reason of special complaint to any nationality.

Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn, Politisches Arckiv, Österreich 104. (Anlage zu Bericht No. 22). German copy.

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73

1893, July 27, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by the Minister Plenipotentiary of Italy at Bucharest, Curtopassi, to his Foreign Secretary, A. Brin, emphasizing the political strategy of the Romanians of Transylvania in their struggle for rights, and the position of the Romanian Government against the policy of denationalization promoted by the Hungarian Royal Government.

Legation
of His Majesty the King of Italy
in Romania
No. 801/193

Bucharest, July 27, 1893

Object : The National Conference of the Romanians of Transylvania

Your Excellency,

The Romanian National Conference, that took place on the 23rd of July, 1893, at Sibiu (Hermanstadt), and about which I reported on July 16, under No. 731/185, proceeded quietly and with dignity due to the cautious attitude of the Steering Committee and the wise advice indirectly suggested by the Government.

The chairman of this gathering, Mr. Raţiu mentioned the causes of the present movement as an outcome of the Revolution of 1848 and asserted the historical rights of all the Romanians of Hungary by virtue of which their political status should not be subjected to Hungary's hegemony, and more than that, he said that the Pest Government makes every attempt at Magyarizing them.

Fortunately, history demonstrates that a nation several million strong cannot be annihilated by jails, arbitrary proceedings and maltreating. The memorandum addressed to the Emperor last year, and whose presentation was not hindered by the Hungarian Minister included nothing more than a faithful description of the state of affairs and a hearty appeal at its settlement.

He, in his capacity as a chairman, cannot but confirm it and he is pleased to witness the sincere humane feelings of the Conference. The sure passive stand must be maintained for the moment being and action shall be resorted to only in favourable circumstances, without excluding the hope that the government of Pest, trying to prove the contrary, would annul the legal proceedings against the signatories of the above-mentioned Memorandum and the confinement to prison of various Romanian notabilities.

Mr. Raţiu concluded with a praise to His Imperial Majesty and the King and wished to state that renewing his most faithful homage to them, he would like to wish to their Romanian subjects to be able to preserve the right to remain Romanians.

After this speech received with live applause, they adopted by unanimous vote the resolutions of the Conference — which I had the honour to send enclosed together with the Report of the National Council on their activity during the last 18 months.

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Legazione
di S. M. il Re d'Italia
in Rumania

N. 801/193.

Risposta al ... delli ... Div. ...

Bucarest li 27 luglio 1893

MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI
N 35292 – 2 – AGO. 93

Oggetto
Conferenza nazionale dei Rumeni di Transilvania

Signor Ministro,

La Conferenza nazionale Rumena tenuta il 23 corrente a Sibiu (Hermannstadt) e della quale è cenno nel mio rapporto del 16 luglio corr. N 781/180 è trascorsa con calma e dignità, grazie alla prudenza del Comitato direttivo ed ai saggi consigli suggeriti indirettamente da questo Governo.

Il Presidente di quell'Assemblea Signor Rațiu ha rammentato le cause dell'attuale movimento risalendo alla rivoluzione del 1848, ed affermato i diritti storici di tutti i Rumeni di Ungheria, in virtù dei quali la loro situazione politica non deve subire l'egemonia magiara, ma vi ha di

Sua Eccellenza
Il Ministro per gli Affari Esteri
Roma

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Doc. 73 c

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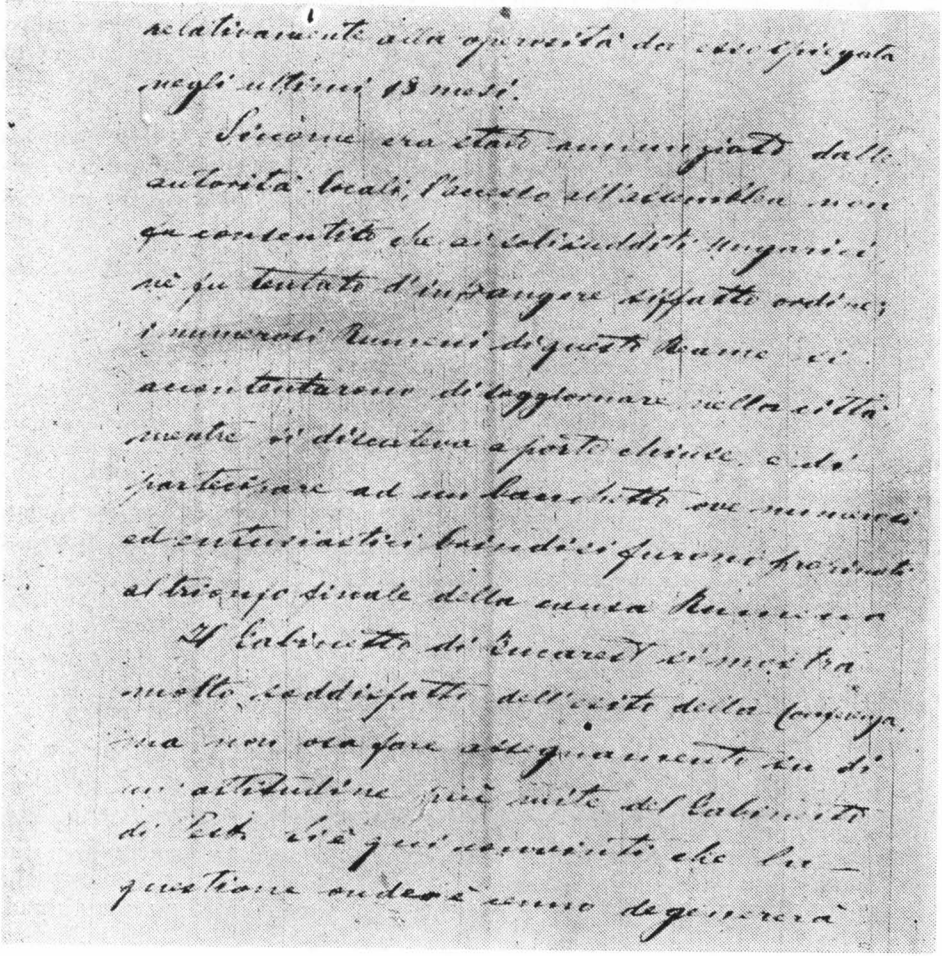

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As announced by local authorities, admittance to the assembly being permitted to the subjects of Hungary [95] alone there were no attempts at violating this disposition, numerous Romanians from the Kingdom, confined themselves with staying in town, while the discussions went on behind closed doors, and with attending banquets where numerous and enthusiastic toasts were raised to the final triumph of the Romanian cause.

The Bucharest Government seemed very pleased with the success of the Conference but did not dare to rely upon a greater benevolance from the Pest Government. They are convinced here that the issue in question shall necessarily turn, in the Kindgom, into a problem of a internal nature against the present Government or any government whatever would be unable to struggle, if it is not willing to see Romania's sympathy with the alliance with the three ones compromised.

Today, I have some reasons to believe that Mr. Lahovary, who is going to leave for a health resort, would try to find and do something, either on his way to or on his way back, and talk with Count Kálnoky about this serious probleme.

(signed) Curtopassi

Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Roma, Archivio Storico, P. 38, Romania. Italian original.

74

1893, September 16, Vienna. Diplomatic dispatch addressed by the Belgian Ambassador in Vienna, van den Steen, to Count de Merode-Westerloo, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, pointing to the sympathetic European public opinion on the aspirations of the Romanians of Transylvania.

Legation of Belgium
Romanian Question

My Lord,

In its last political review, "L'Indépendance Belge" dedicated the following lines to the recent Hungarian-Romanian disputes. "At present, the persecutions of the Romanians, are no fancy any more, but sad reality ! The incidents during the trial of Cluj stirred huge excitement in Romania. Abroad, in the French, Italian and English press, the Transylvanians are addressed encouragement they had not given before. By its brutal procedures, the Hungarian Government produced an outstanding wave of sympathy for the oppressed and the moment is approaching when the Romanian question will turn into an European one".

[95] Representatives of the Romanian population of Transylvania under Austro-Hungarian domination.

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Vienne, le 16 Septembre, 1893

...gique.

N° 606/352

...tion Roumaine

...ION POLITIQUE

14

Monsieur le Comte,

Dans sa dernière "Revue Politique", l'Indépendance Belge consacre les lignes suivantes aux récents démêlés magyaro-roumains: « Aujourd'hui la persécution contre les Roumains n'est plus une image, mais une triste réalité. Les incidents du procès de Cluj ont produit une sensation énorme en Roumanie. A l'étranger, dans la presse française, italienne et anglaise, les Transylvains recueillent des encouragements qui ne s'étaient point manifestés jusqu'ici. Par la brutalité de ses procédés

A Monsieur le Comte de Merode-Westerloo
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères
etc. etc. etc.

Bruxelles

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le gouvernement magyare aura provoqué un mouvement très remarquable de sympathie en faveur des opprimés, et l'on peut pressentir le moment où la question roumaine deviendra une question européenne ».

Cette conclusion est juste. On la retrouve également dans les articles de la "République Française", du "Journal des débats" et du "Times". A Vienne et à Budapest elle semble à peine frapper les esprits. Et cependant, quiconque suit la marche des événements doit voir clairement que le principe de l'agitation transylvaine est de l'ordre intime, puisque les procédés arbitraires de l'autorité magyare ne font qu'aviver. On ne peut la comparer au mouvement autonomiste qui se manifeste en Bohême et qui reçoit son impulsion dans le pays même où il se produit. En dépit des manifestations de cette semaine et de l'exhibition, à Prague, de certains emblèmes moscovites, l'élément tchèque possède un programme de revendications bien définies dont l'accomplissement serait encore plus difficile sous un régime russe que sous le régime de l'Autriche.

Il en est tout autrement en Transylvanie où les aspirations de près de trois millions de daco-roumains

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gravitent visiblement vers Bucharest dans l'espoir de voir se réaliser, un jour, le rêve de la légende "Romania Magna". L'agitation transylvaine est analogue à celle des rusniaques de la Galicie Orientale, dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous entretenir dans mes lettres des 7, 21 et 26 Juillet et du 2 Août derniers. De même qu'aux confins nord est de l'Empire les ruthènes sont travaillés par les sous-comités de la Société de Bienfaisance Slave de St. Pétersbourg, tels les daco-roumains de Bukowine et de Transylvanie obéissent au mot d'ordre de la "Ligue Roumaine" dont le siège est à Bucharest. On peut dire que de Jaroslaw à Orsova, soit sur une étendue de 1300 Kilomètres, la population frontière de la Monarchie Austro-hongroise, comprenant cinq millions d'âmes, est formée d'éléments désintégrants dont la désaffection, latente pendant de longues années, s'est affirmée récemment d'une façon assez alarmante pour émouvoir les cabinets de Vienne et de Budapest.

Le Gouvernement Autrichien paraît redouter les difficultés d'une réaction directe contre cet état de choses et semble voir, dans une entente avec la Russie elle-même, la solution d'une question

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que des procédés arbitraires ne feraient qu'irriter
nuire. La dissolution du Séminaire Catholique
grec de Vienne (V. ma Lettre du 2 Août), doit être
envisagée moins comme une mesure de répression
que comme un moyen d'arranger les tendances
particularistes du clergé ruthène. Reste à voir
si le rapprochement entre les deux Empereurs
les rapports de cordialité entre leurs chefs pourront
le moins du monde contribuer à arrêter les progrès
du panslavisme militant. En d'autres termes
l'autorité personnelle du Tsar est-elle telle
qu'Alexandre III puisse, par simple injonction
suspendre l'action plus ou moins occulte de la
Société de Bienfaisance Slave de St Pétersbourg

En matière de nationalité, la politique hongroise
n'admet pas les demi-mesures de la politique
autrichienne. Aussi le Gouvernement transleithan
croit-il pouvoir éteindre l'agitation transylvaine
par l'emploi des grands moyens. Deux procès de
haute trahison, dont le caractère fondamentalement n'a
échappé à personne, l'ont déjà débarrassé des
principaux leaders antimagyars. L'imprimeur
du grand organe populaire, la Tribuna de
Hermannstadt a été confisqué et la publication

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de cinq feuilles roumaines a été suspendue jusqu'à nouvel ordre. Enfin de nombreux citoyens ont été soumis à des visites domiciliaires et placés sous une surveillance aussi vexatoires qu'arbitraires. « Nous nous montrons sévères, écrit le "Nemzet" mais la sévérité même de notre répression indique assez qu'il s'agit d'écraser un mouvement dont on a méconnu jusqu'à présent la portée et qui s'attaque à l'intégrité, à l'existence même de l'Etat Hongrois ». Bref, le pouvoir magyar a pris l'initiative d'une lutte aigue qui mérite d'être observée de l'étranger, car elle pourrait bien créer une situation pleine de dangers non seulement pour la prospérité du Royaume de St Etienne, mais aussi pour l'équilibre de l'Europe Orientale.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Comte, les assurances de ma plus haute considération

Urvan de Steer

Doc. 74 e

This conclusion is right. We may find it as well in the articles published by the "Republique Française", "Journal des Débats" and "Times". But in Vienna and Budapest they hardly touch the spirits. But, no matter what course the developments would take, it must be clearly understood that the principle motivating the Transylvanian agitation is mere Irredentism to which the arbitrary proceedings of the Hungarian authorities are naturally leading. It cannot be compared with the autonomistic movement taking place in Bohemia, as it is given an impulse by the very country which caused it. In spite of this week's manifestations and of the exposé made in Prague on some Moscow problems, the Czech element has a programme of welldefined claims whose fulfilment would be more difficult under a Russian regime than under the Austrian one.

This is altogether different with Transylvania where the aspirations of almost three million of Daco-Romanians obviously gravitate towards Bucharest in their hope to see their wish of a "Romania Magna" come true.

Would you accept, My Lord, my deepest respects.

Obediently yours,
M. Van den Steen

The Right Hon. the Count de Merode — Westerloo
Minister of Foreign Affairs — Brussels

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et du Commerce Extérieur, Bruxelles, Correspondance Politique, Légations, Autriche, Vol. 59, doc. 14. French original.

75

1897, November 1, Bucharest. Fragments from a secret diplomatic dispatch addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary on the roots and organized character of the liberation movement of the Romanians of Transylvania.

My Lord,

. . . . . .

Dissatisfaction of the Romanians in Hungary

There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the Romanian people of Hungary, and particularly its intellectuals — who have set their heart on "The Romanic Idea" — are dissatisfied with their fate. If there might be a Slav in Hungary who takes himself for a Hungarian, there are no Romanians — I think — to think like that, — for "The Romanic idea", so much favoured by history, seems to be deeply roothed in each and every individual ; and one is right when asserting that the Romanian movement is a popular movement, a *termeszeti ösztön* (a natural instinct), as I have been told by a village

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notary in the neighbourhood of Cluj, when he referred to a priest, which, as a matter of fact, he mentioned with commending words.

I have had some opportunities to make sure of the earnestness of this tendency both with intellectuals and with simple peasants ; I would mention here a worker of Apahida, who bore a Hungarian name, but who dictated to his notary in Romanian some data ; asking him about his nationality, he answered me proudly in fluent Hungarian "Roman vagyok" (I am a Romanian). A higher ranking priest to whom I paid unexpected visit, had all his rooms adorned with the Romanian colours. I did not even see their eyes glitter when people I talked to found out that I came from Bucharest, and believed me to be a citizen of Romania !

.... Another facet of the problem, which, in my humble opinion, is of a nature to give food for serious thought, would be the economic question, the reason given by the Hungarians, namely that the Romanians were of course more numerous, but they owned little land, the Wallachians answered by systematically buying landed estates. They went very far in this direction and set up, as known, a great number of agricultural banks, for which the Romanian priests play the part of voluntary subsidiary office.

. . . . . .

The Nature of the Movement

The facts mentioned before come to prove, I think, that the Romanian movement of Transylvania is by no means a fabrication kindled by some agitators, but it has the character of a natural, well-organized, aggressive trend. Of course, I am fully aware that the material testifying to it is not exhaustive, nevertheless the fact that the impressions I gathered with the Romanians are in harmony with those met in the Hungarian leading circles, seems to me of an undeniable symptomatic value.

... My remarks on this question may be synthesized namely, that the Romanian question was not imported *from without* into Hungary, and *neither was it produced by so-called oppressions.* The question does exist *for it had been created by history and because a Romanian intelligentsia has grown, which has never found and has never desired an adhesion to Hungary.*

. . . . . .

Support of the Movement from the Outside

As for the support from the outside, I feel entitled, after a two-year stay in Romania, to assert that this cannot be considered as a main moment in the Romanian question. For, on the one hand, as Your Excellency may know, the patriots here do not have very much to offer, either in matters of material means or as their conviction is concerned, and on the other I think that the "national" movement of Hungary had taken much too deep roots to need any support from the outside whatsoever...

Would you accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my deepest respects

J. Szilassy

Library of the Academy of the S.R. of Romania, Austrian Consuls Collection, File LVIII, No. 229. German original.

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76

1914, September 19, Bucharest. Diplomatic dispatch sent by the Belgian Ambassador at Bucharest, Van Ypersele de Strihou, to J. Davignon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, concerning Romania's neutral policy and the wish to fulfil her national ideal.

Legation of Belgium
Nd. 431/131
(By courtesy)
Romania's attitude

Bucharest, September 19, 1914

Your Excellency,

Germany's Minister at Bucharest has just been suddenly called back to Berlin. His successor is Mr. von Busch, Minister Plenipotentiary, who seems to have been trained at the Imperial Office of Foreign Affairs to replace Mr. Zimmermann.

Mr. de Waldthausen's leave, under the present circumstances, is interpreted by the press as a failure of his policy. If he was not successful with the cabinet members, who had considered him too insisting and had reproached him his domineering tone, this is nevertheless not because he lacked His Majesty the King's support, with whom he kept a close and daily contact, often even twice a day, so that a satiric newspaper published in the capital, "Facla", when announcing his leave, has added : "During Mr. Waldthausen's leave, the question of the German Legation shall be warranted by His Majesty the King of Romania".

It might be possible that the failure of the German diplomat was the outcome of the assurances given to his government concerning Romania's assistance. He could have been misled by the King's obvious wish to grant this aid. But, at present, the Crown has lost much of its former influence over public opinion, and I have been honoured to already inform you, the country voiced its firm stand against the King's intentions and succeeded in paralysing the action. Mr. de Waldthausen, who was far of being a supple spirit and who reckoned, undoubtedly, on the policy of misuse of authority grounding all German actions, might have overlooked the barrier gradually raised by the will of the country against the sovereign's will and how the King, a subtle politician, was manoeuvring and asserting his growing desire to grant assistance to Germany and Austria, while the country's voice was making this assistance ever more impossible.

It is sure though that all the sovereign's sympathies remained attached to Germany and Austria, and were he able to find the means, King Charles would rush and offer help to those states. Romania's neutrality is not final, for the country would like to take Transylvania by attacking Austria, and the King would like, in his turn, to aggrandize the country, but without launching a war against Austria, to which he is linked, to all appearances, by a secret treaty signed by him and by the Council governing by then, ignored by everybody, but which, came to be known by Mr. Brătianu only after the

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LÉGATION DE BELGIQUE.

Bucarest, le 19 Septembre 1914.

N° 413/131.

(Par occasion)

Attitude de la Roumanie

DIRECTION POLITIQUE
N° 74 Dsier 6266
ENTRÉ LE Vendredi

Monsieur le Ministre,

Le Ministre d'Allemagne à Bucarest vient brusquement d'être rappelé à Berlin. On lui a donné comme successeur M. von Busch, Ministre Plénipotentiaire qu'on préparait, dit-on, à l'Office Impérial des Affaires Etrangères pour remplacer M. Zimmerman.

Le départ de M. de Waldthausen, dans les circonstances actuelles, est interprété par la presse comme un échec de sa politique. S'il n'a point réussi auprès des membres du Gouvernement qui le trouvaient trop insistant et qui lui reprochaient son langage autoritaire, ce n'est cependant pas faute de l'appui de Sa Majesté le Roi qui était en communication journalière et souvent deux fois par jour avec lui, au point qu'un journal satirique de la capitale "Le Facla", en annoncant son départ, ajoutait :"Pendant l'absence de M. de Waldthausen, les affaires de la Légation d'Allemagne seront gérées par S.M. le Roi de Roumanie."

Il est bien possible que l'insuccès du diplomate allemand résulte des assurances qu'il a pu donner à son Gouvernement de l'appui de la Roumanie. Il aura été induit en erreur par le désir manifeste qu'avait le Roi de prêter cet appui.Mais la Couronne n'a plus aujourd'hui sur l'opinion l'influence dont elle disposait autrefois ; et, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous l'écrire, le pays s'est nettement affirmé contre les intentions du Roi, au point

Monsieur Davignon,

Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,

Doc. 76 a

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qu'il en a paralysé l'action. M. de Waldthausen, qui n'était pas un esprit délié et qui comptait sans doute sur la politique de l'abus de la force qui est à la base de toute action allemande, n'aura peut-être pas distingué la borne que peu à peu la volonté du pays élevait devant la volonté du Souverain et de quelle façon le Roi, politique subtil, manoeuvrait lorsqu'il affirmait son désir de plus en plus vif de prêter secours à l'Allemagne et à l'Autriche à mesure que la voix du pays rendait l'octroi de ce secours de plus en plus impossible.

Il est certain cependant que toutes les sympathies du Monarque sont restées acquises à l'Allemagne et à l'Autriche ; et que s'il en trouvait le moyen, le Roi Charles volerait au secours de ces États. La neutralité de la Roumanie n'est pas définitive, en ce sens que le pays voudrait prendre la Transylvanie en attaquant l'Autriche et que le Roi voudrait aussi agrandir ses États mais sans partir en guerre contre l'Autriche, à qui le lie, paraît-il, un traité secret signé par lui et le Président du Conseil qui gouvernait alors, mais ignoré de tous et dont M. Bratiano n'aurait eu connaissance que depuis l'ouverture des hostilités franco-allemandes. C'est cet état de choses qui faisait craindre, il y a huit jours, l'éventualité dont je vous ai fait part par mon télégramme du 12 Septembre dernier, à savoir une entrée en jeu de la Roumanie pour prendre la Transylvanie et la Bucovine, sous prétexte d'arracher ces pays peuplés de Roumains à la Russie, sous laquelle un enveloppement slave menace de les faire tomber. Des indices très sérieux permettaient de soupçonner que c'était là un plan du Roi auquel on apercevait depuis un certain temps dans la presse offi-

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cieuse l'effort fait pour convertir l'opinion. Mais les succès français et surtout les succès russes en Galicie ont tellement impressionné le pays qu'on a dû faire volte-face.

La politique de la Roumanie doit être suivie avec vigilance car elle est sans netteté, toujours flottante entre la personnalité allemande du Roi, l'indécision du Président du Conseil et le désir du pays de marcher contre l'Autriche pour réaliser son idéal national qui est la Transylvanie, d'autant plus que le nouveau Ministre d'Allemagne arrive sans doute avec des propositions fraîches qui vont être habilement exploitées. A ce dernier point de vue, le départ de M. de Waldthausen, qui avait la réputation d'un homme peu capable, et son remplacement par un diplomate qu'on destinait aux grands emplois du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères à Berlin, est une chose à regretter pour nous.

Je garde, pour ma part, la conviction que, malgré le peu d'élégance d'une pareille attitude, la Roumanie restera neutre tant que les événements ne lui auront pas démontré qu'il n'y a plus de danger pour elle, soit de la part de la Russie, soit de la part de l'Autriche, à en sortir; alors elle ira occuper la Transylvanie et peut-être la Bucovine. Si cependant l'Italie entrait en action en faveur des Alliés, il n'y a pour moi aucun doute que la Roumanie en ferait immédiatement autant.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de mon profond respect,

M. van Vlissingen de Stuers

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French-German hostilities broke out. Owing to this state of affairs, eight days ago, there cropped up a fear of the possibility I had told you about in my cable of September 12, last year, namely, lest Romania would come into play in order to take Transylvania and Bucovina on the pretence of snatching these countries inhabitted by Romanians from Russia, as a Slave encirclement might menace them to fall under Russian domination. Most serious indications pointed to some hidden plan schemed out by the King and the semi-official press has made of late obvious efforts to draw public opinion into it. But the successes of the French and particularly those scored by the Russians in Galitia have impressed the country to such an extent, that it had to utterly change its conception.

Romania's policy must be carefully watched over as it is uncertain, staggering incessantly from the king's German personality and the hesitation of the President of the Council to the country's wish to set out against Austria in order to fulfil its national ideal — Transylvania, so much so as the new German Minister comes, undoubtedly with new suggestions, which will be skilfully exploited. From this last point of view, Mr. Waldthausen's leave, who has gained the reputation of being a little capable man, and his replacement of a diplomatist trained for high offices in the Berlin Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is to be deplored by us.

As for myself, I keep being convinced that, in spite of the indecorous attitude, Romania will keep neutral as long as developments do not prove that she is free from any danger — coming either from Russia or from Austria and then she will proceed to occupying Transylvania or, maybe, Bucovina, too. But if Italy goes nevertheless into action alongside of the allies, I am positively sure that Romania will do the same immediately.

Would Your Excellency accept my deepest respects,

Obediently Yours,
Van Ypersele de Strihou

To H. E. J. Davignon
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Antwerp

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et du Commerce Extérieur, Bruxelles, Correspondance Politique, Légations, Roumanie, Serie non reliée, Vol. 5. French original.

77

1916, August 28, Paris. Telegram of congratulations sent by Aristide Briand to the Romanian Government for the decision made by Romania to declare war.

To
The Romanian Government

"All the French nation hails Romania for her decision and will to win her rightful place among the champions of justice and civilisation. I am happy to have the honour to be the spokesman of my nation and the Government of the [French] Republic and address to you the heartiest congratulations.

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Now, when your noble homeland is achieving this grandious liberating deed, I am sure that our joint efforts for the triumph of justice and civilisation shall bring to the allies the victory which would enable Romania to fulfil her national aspirations".

Aristide Briand

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, fonds Grand Guerre 1914—1918, Dossier Balkans — Roumanie, Negociations avec l'Entente, Vol. V, p. 141. French original.

78

1917, July 29, Paris. Telegram sent by French Minister of War, Georges Clemenceau, to Général Henri Mathias Berthelot, Head of the French Military Mission to Romania, asking him to convey to the Romanian High Command the heartiest congratulations for the brilliant successes scored by the Romanian Army.

The Ministry of War
General Staff of the Army
Advancement Department — Identical copy
Bureau 3 A
Secret
No. 4762 BS

Telegram

Ministry of War to the Head of the

French Military Mission

The Romanian General Headquarters

Primo. Please convey to the Romanian High Command the warmest congratulations of the French Army for the brilliant successes scored by the Romanian Army, which unfortunately could not be completely exploited owing to circumstances.

Secundo. The bravery of the Romanian troops fully justify the decision made by the French Government to supply all the necessary material with a view to raising the number of reorganized Romanian divisions to 15. It devolves upon you to take all the measures to have all this material — for

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MINISTÈRE
DE LA GUERRE.

ÉTAT-MAJOR GÉNÉRAL DE L'ARMÉE.

GROUPE DE L'AVANT.

3 Bureau A.

Télégramme.

DUPLICATA.

Paris, le 29 Juillet 1917.

Secret

Ministre de la Guerre

à Chef Mission Militaire Française

G.Q.G. ROUMAIN.

N° 4.76. BS.

PRIMO.- Je vous prie de transmettre au Haut Commandement roumain félicitations chaleureuses de Armée Française pour brillants succès remportés par Armée Roumaine que situation n'a malheureusement pas permis d'exploiter complètement.

SECUNDO.- Vaillance des troupes roumaines justifie entièrement décision prise par Gouvernement français de fournir complètement de matériel nécessaire pour porter à 15 nombre de divisions roumaines réorganisées. STOP. Il vous appartient de prendre toutes mesures pour que ce matériel dont on s'efforcera d'assurer expédition dans conditions prévues par télégramme du 27 Juillet N° 4.650 BS; transite régulièrement et rapidement à travers Russie.

P.O. Le Général,
Chef d'Etat-Major Général de l'Armée,

Signé: FOCH.

3139-1 d'O.-1917.

Copie pour M. le Président de la République.
- - M. le Président du Conseil (Cabinet)
- - M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (Cabinet)
- - M. le Ministre de la Guerre (Cabinet-Secrétariat Militaire)
- - M. le Général Cdt. en Chef les Armées du N. et du N.E.

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whose delivery in the conditions mentioned in Telegram No. 4650 BS of July 27 all efforts will be made — regularly and quickly transmitted through Russia.

P. O. General
Chief of the General Staff of the Army
(signed) Foch

cc. The President of the Republic
Chairman of the Council (Cabinet)
Minister of the Foreign Affairs (Cabinet)
Minister of War (Cabinet — Military Secretariate)
General Commander-in-Chief of the North and North-East Armies

Archives Historiques Militaires, Vincennes, Ministère de la Guerre, Etat Majeur de l'Armée 16 N. 2995, No. 4762 B.S. — French original.

79

1917, August 26, London. Telegram received by Sir George Barclay. Special Diplomatic Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom in Romania containing the British Prime Minister Lloyd George's message of sympathy with and admiration for the courage and endurance displayed by the Romanian people during the year elapsed since Romania's joining the war.

Romania
Military
Telegram en clair to Sir G. Barclay (Jassy)
via Odessa No. 92
Foreign Office, August 26th, 1917, 11.45 p.m.

No. 319

. . . . . .

Please communicate following to Romanian Prime Minister [96] from Mr. Lloyd George [97] :

On the anniversary of Roumania's entry into the War, I wish to express on behalf of the British Government our heartfelt admiration for the heroic courage and endurance displayed by the Romanian people during a year of almost unparallelled trial. In declaring against the Central Powers Roumania took her stand for the Cause of Freedom against Autocracy and of right against might. This cause can never fail however long delayed its triumphs may seem.

[96] Ion I. C. Brătianu.
[97] David Llyod George, First Earl of Dwyfor, British Prime Minister (1917—1922).

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ROUMANIA

MILITARY.

Telegram en clair to Sir G.Barclay (Jassy), via Odessa No.92.
Foreign Office. August 26th.1917. 11.45 p.m.

No.319.

Please communicate following to Roumanian Prime Minister from Mr.Lloyd George:-

On the anniversary of Roumania's entry into the War, I wish to express on behalf of the British Government our heartfelt admiration for the heroic courage and endurance displayed by the Roumanian people during a year of almost unparallelled trial. In declaring against the Central Powers Roumania took her stand for the Cause of Freedom against Autocracy and of right against might. This cause can never fail however long delayed its triumphs may seem. The re-creation of their army and the stubborn and invaluable resistance which it is now making against the enemy under conditions of exceptional difficulty is a magnificent example of the strength which Freedom inspires in a Free People. It is not less a proof of the resolution which animates all the Allied Armies to prosecute the War until Victory is won, a victory which I have never doubted they will ultimately achieve.

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The re-creation of their army and the stubborn and invaluable resistance which it is now making against the enemy under conditions of exceptional difficulty is a magnificent example of the strength which Freedom inspires in a Free People. It is not less a proof of the resolution which animates all the Allied Armies to prosecute the War until Victory is won, a victory which I have never doubted they will ultimately achieve.

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office General Correspondence, F.O. 371, Balkans, Vol. 2892, p. 175. English original.

80

1917, August, Paris. Code cable sent by Georges Clemenceau to Général Henri Mathias Berthelot to convey to the Commander-in-Chief of the Romanian Army the French Army's full confidence in the high value of the Romanian troops.

Ministry of War
General Staff of the Army
Advancement Group
Bureau 3 A
Operations-Priority

Code cable
Paris, August 1917

Ministry of War to the
Head of the French Military Mission

Romanian General Headquarters

No. BS

Would you please convey the following telegram to the Commander-in-Chief of the Romanian Army.

Quote

The French Army, after having noted with joy the success scored by the Romanian Army during its last month's offensive, hailed its vigorous efforts which opened the road to its victorious offensive against the hostile attacks strengthened with considerable forces, partially displaced from other fronts.

The courage and dogged staunchness proved by the Romanian Army under these circumstances, shows that the hard trials it had been put to increased the confidence in the final success.

I am happy to convey to you the expression of our full trust in the high value of the Romanian troops.

Unquote

Archives Historiques Militaires, Vincennes, Ministère de la Guerre, Etat Majeur de l'Armée. 16 N 3059, p. 80. French original.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / http://arhivelenationale.ro

80

Ministère de la Guerre.

Etat-Major Général de l'Armée.

Groupe de l'Avant.

3e Bureau A.

TELEGRAMME CHIFFRE.

+++++++

Paris, le Août 1917.

OPERATIONS - PRIORITE.

Non

Ministre de la Guerre

à Chef Mission Militaire Française

G.Q.G. ROUMAIN.

N° B.S.

Vous prie transmettre télégramme suivant à Commandant en Chef Armée roumaine:

GUILLEMETS.-

Armées françaises, après avoir constaté avec joie succès remportés par armée roumaine au cours de son offensive du mois dernier, ont applaudi aux efforts vigoureux qui lui ont permis de contenir victorieusement attaques ennemies montées avec forces considérables, en partie prélevées sur autres fronts.

Courage et ténacité dont armée roumaine vient de donner la preuve dans ces circonstances montrent que les dures épreuves qu'elle a traversées n'ont fait qu'exalter sa foi dans le succès final.

Je suis heureux vous transmettre expression de toute notre confiance dans haute valeur des troupes roumaines.

GUILLEMETS.-

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81

1917, November 22, London. Telegram sent by the Foreign Office to H. M. Special Diplomatic Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary in Romania, Sir George Barclay, asking him to deliver the message of King George V. of Great Britain to King Ferdinand of Romania, concerning the heroic resistance put up by the Romanian people and the assistance of the Allies.

Circulated to the the King and the War cabinet

Cypher telegram to Sir G. Barclay (Jassy)

Foreign Office, November 22nd 1917, 2.30 p.m.

No.452

Urgent

Please deliver following from the King [98] to the King [99] of Romania. Begins.

"I never received a telegram from you at the end of October, but you may be sure that my fullest sympathy goes out to you in this time of trial and that my admiration for the heroic and steadfast resistance, of your army in the face of unexampled difficulties and discouragements in unbounded. I beg of you not to lose heart in this dark hour. My Government are doing all they can, in conjunction with their Allies, to provide financial and material assistance and I feel that we may yet hope to see your gallant army taking a glorious part in victorious operations against the common enemy.

The Allies rely on the example so nobly set by you and your people to save the liberties of Europe on the Eastern front. We shall not abandon you, but do all in our power to alleviate your position".

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, General Correspondence, F.O. 371, Balkans, Vol. 2892, p. 378. English original.

[98] George V, King of England (1920—1936).
[99] Ferdinand I, King of Romania (1914—1927).

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82

1917, November 26, Washington. Message sent by U.S. President, Woodrow Wilson, to King Ferdinand of Romania expressing his feelings of warm sympathy for the courageous struggle of the Romanian people and the decision made by the United States to support Romania in the final negotiations for peace and after the war.

Department of State
Washington

Washington, November 26, 1917

Amlegation
Jassy

Referring to your 161 of November 17, 8 p.m. please convey the following message to the King of Romania from the President of the United States.

The people of the United States have watched with feelings of warmest sympathy and admiration the courageous struggle of Your Majesty and the people of Romania to preserve from the domination of German militarism their national integrity and freedom. The Government of the United States is determined to continue to assist Romania in this struggle.

At the same time I wish to assure Your Majesty that the United States will support Romania after the war to the best of its ability and that, in any final negociations for peace, it will use its constant efforts to see to it that the integrity of Romania as a free and independent nation is adequately safeguarded.

Lansing

The National Archives of the United States, Records of the Department of State Relating to World War I and Its Termination (1914—1929), Microcopy 367, Roll 62, Vol. 59. English original.

83

1917. Manifesto addressed by the British Workers' League to the diplomatic representatives of the Allied Powers expressive of the sentiments of solidarity and fraternity of the British people with the peoples fighting for liberty.

The British Workers' League

An address expressive of the sentiments of solidarity and fraternity of the Citizens of London to their respective Excellencies the Ambassadors and Ministers of the French Republic, the United States of America, the

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Kingdom of Italy, the Empire of Japan, the Provisional Government of Russia, the Kingdom of Belgium, the Republic of Portugal, the Kingdom of Serbia, the Kingdom of Montenegro, the Kingdom of Roumania, and the Republic of Cuba.

Your Excellencies :

We approach you today as a Deputation representative of the citizens of the Capital of the British Empire, with the desire, after nearly three years of unparalleled war, to express to you the unfaltering determination of our people to continue the struggle in defence of human rights against the brutal aggression committed by German Kaiserdom, until the military power of the enemy is shattered, and until our joint flags have become the emblems of a glorious victory for human liberty and the world's democracies. We are grateful to Your Excellencies for having afforded us this opportunity of giving expression to the popular sentiments of the British people and we rejoice that you should be here today with us, to receive, on behalf of your respective nations, this expression of the fraternal sentiments which animate all the peoples under the British flag for their glorious Allies [...].

Your Excellencies the Ministers of the Kingdoms of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania : Britain has been less closely associated with you in the past than it has with some of its other Allies, but the superb heroism of your peoples, the quenchless ardour of their resistance, their unfaltering courage under the heaviest and hardest blows, have endeared them to every true British heart. Be assured, Gentlemen, and convey to your representative Governments the assurance, that we shall never sheathe the sword until your National Rights are vindicated and ample reparation has been made to your peoples for their sacrifices and sufferings. [...].

Your Excellencies :

Never before has humanity been so cruelly lacerated ; never before has the cause of civilisation been in such grave peril ; never before have all the sanctuaries of national independence and individual liberty been so grossly violated as during this unparalleled strife. But never before have the military qualities of our peoples, their capacity for sacrifice, their high courage, and their determination been demonstrated on such a world-wide scale. And so, Gentlemen, we bring you this respectful message from the citizens of this ancient City, and beg you to convey it to our brothers whom you represent here with so much distinction and dignity. We hope that this manifestation of popular sympathy and solidarity on the part of the masses of London's citizens will help to silence the few weak and sinister voices that have been raised in pleas for a premature and dastardly peace — a peace whereby all the sacrifices and all the courage of your brothers and ours would be wasted. We have lived through hours as dark with impending disaster as any that nations have ever suffered, and now that the sun of victory is dawning on our horizon, the masses of the British people are more determined than ever

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to be worthy of their dead, to be worthy of their past, and with you no unworthy architects of a future in which war and tyranny shall be banished from the world for all time.

For the British Workers' League :
John Hodge, President

I. A. Seddon, Chairman of the General-Council

J. F. Green, Chairman of the Executive Committee

Victor Fisher, Hon. Secretary

Irene Fisher, Assistant Hon. Secretary

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et du Commerce Extérieur, Bruxelles, Correspondance Politique, Légations, Grande Bretagne, Vol. 12. English original.

84

1918, January 24, London. Telegram sent by the Foreign Office to the British Minister Plenipotentiary at Jassy to be delivered to the Romanian Prime Minister, I. I. C. Brătianu, in which the British Prime Minister, Llyod George, expressed his sympathy with the Romanian people and its armies fighting in unexampled difficulties.

January 24th, 1918

Romania

Military

Cypher telegram to Sir G. Barclay (Jassy)
Foreign Office, January 24th, 1918, 7.30 p.m.
No 57 (R)

"Please communicate following from Prime Minister to Romanian Prime Minister :

Permit me, on behalf of His Majesty's Government to express our profound sympathy with the Romanian people and with those who at this critical moment, are guiding its destinies amid unexampled difficulties. Surrounded by perils, divided by impassable barriers from friends who are most earnestly desirous of providing effective aid, only the rarest courage can enable you to face the accumulating difficulties of your present position. The indomitable resistance of the Romanian army during last summer has filled us with admiration. Be assured that we shall neglect no action which it may be possible to take to assist you. I am confident that the day is approaching

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when the despotism of the Prussian military machine will be overthrown, and the peoples of Europe will be free to control their own destinies as justice requires. When that day comes the constancy and fortitude of the Romanian Govermnent and people will receive its full reward".

(Lloyd George)

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Political, F.O. 371, Vol. 3140, p. 197. English original.

85

1918, February 12/25, Jassy. Note addressed by the American Minister in Romania, Charles Vopicka, to King Ferdinand, concerning the declaration made to Romania by the U.S. Government.

LEGATION OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Jassy, February 12/25, 1918

To His Majesty the King of Roumania.

Sire :

As it was again suggested to my Government that the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States should make a declaration to Your Majesty defining specifically the principles which these countries have determined to adopt in view of the grave conditions which confront Your people in spite of their loyalty and courage in maintaining the struggle against the Central Powers, my Government has decided to make this declaration independently in which it gives assurance that it will, in so far as it may, give its support to the following propositions :

1. That any Treaty of Peace to which the United States is a party the political and territorial integrity of Roumania shall be adequately safeguarded.
2. That the people of Roumania shall have entire determination of their Government.
3. That the Government of the United States will consider with the Governments of the cobelligerents the furnishing of the necessary means to maintain the Roumanian Government and Roumanian Army whether the same are located within or outside the national limits of Roumania.
4. That measures or actions by the Central Powers or their Allies in the invaded territory of Roumania will be considered as null and void in so far as they adversely affect the title or authority of Roumania and its Allies.

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5. That the United States is determined to continue with its resources, men and national wealth to maintain its struggle against the Central Powers until the principles for which it entered the war prevail.

I have the honor to inform Your Majesty that the above declaration is in addition to the assurances already given by the President of the United States and the Government of the United States.

I have the honor to remain,

Yours respectfully,

Charles Vopicka
American Minister

Bucharest State Archives, Royal Fund, File 76/1918, pp. 1—2, English original.

86

1918, April 24. Message addressed by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson to Robert Lansing, U.S. Secretary of State, for the Romanian Colony of Paris to express the feelings of sympathy of the U.S. Government for Romania's legitimate aspirations.

April 24th, 1918

My dear Mr. Secretary :

Thank you very much for your advice in this matter. Will you not be kind enough to send to these gentlemen the following message, addressed in the proper way (I dare say your office will know what that is) :

"The President has received and read the communication of the Roumanian Colony of Paris with the greatest interest and begs the authors of the communication to accept in return his warm appreciation of their confidence in the Government of the United States. That Government sympathizes sincerely with the legitimate aspirations of Roumania as expressed in the memorial and most hopefully wishes for the people of Roumania a welfare and prosperity in the future which will in some degree compensate for the misfortunes and sufferings of the present. All thoughtful Americans have keenly felt the untoward fate of Roumania in the present war but hope and believe that it is only temporary".

Hon. Robert Lansing
Secretary of State

Cordially and sincerely yours,

[Woodrow Wilson]

The Library of Congress. Washington. Presidential Papers, Microfilm Woodrow Wilson Papers, 1915—1921, Roll 345, p. 3183. English Original.

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24 April, 1918

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Thank you very much for your advice in this matter. Will you not be kind enough to send to these gentlemen the following message, addressed in the proper way (I dare say your office will know what that is):

"The President has received and read the communication of the Roumanian Colony of Paris with the greatest interest and begs the authors of the communication to accept in return his warm appreciation of their confidence in the Government of the United States. That Government sympathizes sincerely with the legitimate aspirations of Roumania, as expressed in the memorial, and most hopefully wishes for the people of Roumania a welfare and prosperity in the future which will in some degree compensate for the misfortunes and sufferings of the present. All thoughtful Americans have keenly felt the untoward fate of Roumania in the present war but hope and believe that it is only temporary."

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Hon. Robert Lansing,

Secretary of State.

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87

1918, April 25, London. Telegram sent by the Foreign Office to British Ambassador to Jassy to convey to Queen Maria of Romania, Colonel Walton's message of friendship and admiration of the English people for Romania's trials in war.

1918, April 25th, London

Cypher telegram to Sir G. Barclay (Jassy)
Foreign Office, April 25th, 1918, 11 p.m.
No. 218 (D)

Please deliver following message to the Queen of Roumania from Colonel Walton. Begins :

"British officers and friends lately returned from Roumania wish to inform you of very sympathetic attitude they have found in England for Roumania in the trials she has gone through and is still undergoing. They are endeavouring to bring Roumania's sacrifices more to the notice of the British people who are determined to see the war through to a just and victorious peace."

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Political F.O. 371, Vol. 3141, p. 212. English original.

88

1918, April 28/May 11, Cittàducale. Telegram of gratefulness sent by the President of the Council of Ministers of Italy, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, to the President of the Romanians' Society in Italy, Professor Mândrescu.

KINGDOM OF ITALY
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

1918, April 18/May 11, Cittàducale

TELEGRAM, May 11, 1918

Professor Simeon Mândrescu
President of the Romanians' Society
Cittàducale

I was very glad to receive the greetings conveyed by Your Excellency on behalf of your fellow-countrymen. The lofty aspirations for national independence have met a wide response in my Italian soul which had also known such hardships. This sentiment of sympathy is so much greater as our

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FILES ONLY.

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Foreign Office, April 25th, 1918, 11 p.m.

No. 218 (D.)

-----oOo-----

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fraternity makes even more intimate the bonds between our two akin nations. As for myself, I should be very happy to add my own sentiments to those expressed above.

President of the Council of Ministers
Orlando

Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma, Prezidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, fasc. 11.11.5 Italian original.

89

1918, June 5, Washington. Letter of reply sent by William Phillips, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State to Dr. Epaminonda Lucaciu, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National American-Romanian Society, Trenton, assuring the Romanians in the United States that the U.S. Government is determined to assist Romania.

Telegram received

June 5th, 1918

Dr. E. Lucaciu
750 Cass. Street
Trenton, N. J.

Sir :

The Department acknowledges the receipt of your letter of May 31st, reffering to the statement by the Department that the nationalistic aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs have the earnest sympathy of the United States Government, calling attention to the suffering of the Roumanians and expressing the hope that the aspirations of the Roumanians might also receive the sympathy and assistance of the United States.

In this connection your attention is called to the following message [100] which the Secretary of State [Lansing] in a telegram dated November 28, 1917, instructed the American Minister at Jassy to deliver to the King of Roumania...

I am Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State
William Phillips
Assistant Secretary

Roll 569, 350—351

The National Archives of the United States, Records of the Department of State, Microcopy 337, Roll 93, Vol. 85. English original.

[100] cf. Document No. 81, p. 313, in the present volume.

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June 5, 1918.

Dr. E. Lascaiu,

750 Cass Street,

Trenton, N. J.

Sir:

The Department acknowledges the receipt of your letter of May 31st, referring to the statement by the Department that the nationalistic aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs have the earnest sympathy of the United States Government, calling attention to the sufferings of the Roumanians and expressing the hope that the aspirations of the Roumanians might also receive the sympathy and assistance of the United States.

In this connection your attention is called to the following message which the Secretary of State in a telegram dated November 28, 1917, instructed the American Minister at Jassy to deliver to the King of Roumania.

"The people of the United States have watched with feelings of warmest sympathy and admiration the courageous struggle of Your Majesty and the people of Roumania to preserve from the domination of German militarism their national integrity and freedom. The

Government

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Government of the United States is determined to continue to assist Roumania in this struggle.

"At the same time I wish to assure Your Majesty that the United States will support Roumania after the war to the best of its ability and that, in any final negotiations for peace, it will use its constant efforts to see to it that the integrity of Roumania as a free and independent nation is adequately safeguarded."

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

[illegible]

Assistant Secretary.

763.72/10211

NEA:HP/MLB ALVEY A. ADEE

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90

1918, October 12, Paris. Letter sent by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stephen Jean-Marie Pichon, to the Vice-Chairman of the National Council of Romnian Unity, with its main offices in Paris, assuring them of the French Government's assistance to their projected activity.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Department of Political and
Commercial Affairs

Europe

The French Republic

Paris, October 12, 1918

Dear Messrs Vice-chairmen of the National Council
of Romania Unity,

Dear Sirs,

I would be very happy if I could get into relationship with the National Council of Romanian Unity, whose foundation had been decided upon by the Romanians' General Assembly, which offered the chairmanship to Mr. Take Ionescu, and where you have been elected as Vice-Chairman.

The gathering into this Council of the eminent Romanian personalities and of the most authoritative representatives of the Romanian population still separated from the motherland, provides a faithful representation of the Romanian future meetings. Sprung out from the centuries-long aspirations of your contry fellow-men for liberty and the unity of the Romanian territory, it will be its most authoritative interpreter.

When the victories of the allied armies are heralding the coming triumph of the principles of justice which will secure Romania's liberation and recognition, those who equally to you have never given up their hopes and those who keep on coming to enlist, in ever greater numbers, to fight alongside with us and who raise again Romania's colours in the battlefield, shall prepare together with ourselves, in a mutually trustworthy cooperation, a future in which our two countries will go even more closely united by our common trials, which will consolidate their traditional sympathies and achieve their old affinities. As this aim fully enjoys the French Government's approval, the National Committee of Romanian Unity can safely depend on its full cooperation.

Would you please, accept, Dear Sir, my most distinguished consideration.

Sincerely yours

S. Pichon

Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, fasc. 19.29.7. French original.

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91

1918, November 7, Washington. Telegram sent from Washington by the British Minister Plenipotentiary in Romania, Sir G. Barclay, conveying to the Romanian Government the determination of the U.S. Government to assist Romania in fulfilling her legitimate aspirations

November 6, Washington

R. 1918 November 7, Washington

Telegram (en clair) from Mr. Barclay (Washington)

Nr. 5018

Secretary of State has sent a Note dated November 5th to Roumanian Chargé d'Affaires stating conditions have changed since time prior to existence of state of war between United States and Austria Hungary. President [101] wishes to inform Roumanian Government that he is not unmindful of aspirations of Roumanian people without as well as within boundaries of kingdom and that United States Government will not neglect at proper time to exert its influence that just political and territorial rights Roumanian people may be obtained and made secure from all foreign aggression.

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Political F.O. 371 Vol. 3141, p. 436. English original.

92

1918, November 9, Rome. Letter addressed by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sydney Sonnino, to the Executive Board of the National Council of Romanian Unity, by which this organization is recognized.

Gentlemen,

The letter you have kindly addressed to me on November 19, affords me the pleasant opportunity to giving expression to the deep and unswerving sympathy of the Italian Government with the legitimate and rightful aspirations of the Romanian people.

Italy has never forgotten the patriotic elan and lofty spirit of sacrifice with which Romania participated in the dreadful struggle, victoriously completed today, for the liberation of the Romanians from the alien yoke and for the common triumph of freedom and justice. In the name of the safest political and territorial rights of the Romanian nation and the Romanian people, the Italian Government will give all assistance taking into account the historical bonds which have always been uniting the two peoples as well the

[101] U.S. President Woodrow Wilson

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

MILITARY.

Telegram (en clair) from Mr. Barclay (Washington).
November 6th, 1918.

R. November 7th, 1918.

No. 5018.

.....

Secretary of State has sent a Note dated November 5th to Roumanian Chargé d'Affaires stating conditions have changed since time prior to existence of state of war between United States and Austria Hungary. President wishes to inform Roumanian Government that he is not unmindful of aspirations of Roumanian people without as well as within boundaries of kingdom and that United States Government will not neglect at proper time to exert its influence that just political and territorial rights Roumanian people may be obtained and made secure from all foreign aggression.

8/4).

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similitude of conditions regarding the claim for union with the motherland of the fellow-countrymen subjected to the selfsame foreign domination.

The Italian Government are happy to recognize the National Council of Romanian Unity and establish relations with it giving assurance of all their sympathy.

With my best regards,

S. Sonnino

Actes et documents concernant la question roumaine, Paris, 1918, p. 54, French original.

93

1918, November 11, London. Letter addressed by the British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour to Take Ionescu, Chairman of the National Council of Romanian Unity to express his feelings of sympathy for the Romanian people's struggle for union.

Foreign Office

November 11th, 1919

Dear Mr. Take Jonescu,

It was a great pleasure to me to receive your letter of the 15th ultimo informing me of the establishment, under your Presidency, of the National Council of Roumanian Unity.

I need hardly assure you that I shall be extremely pleased to enter into relations with a body which is so justly representative of Roumanian opinion, and which has been constituted under the Presidency of one who has never lost faith in the ultimate vindications of the just aspirations of the Roumanian people.

I beg, therefore, that you will convey to the Council an expression of my entire sympathy with them in the task of liberation and restoration that lies before them, and assure them of my hearty co-operation and support in preserving and promoting relations of warm friendship between Great Britain and Roumania, whose efforts and sufferings in the common cause are so deeply appreciated in this country.

(Signed)

Arthur James Balfour

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Political F.O. 371, Vol. 3141, p. 391. English original.

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Draft.

M. Take Jonescu.

Foreign Office,
November 11, 1918.

Dear M. Take Jonescu,

It was a great pleasure to me to receive your letter of the 15th ultim informing me of the establishment, under your Presidency, of the National Council of Roumanian Unity.

I need hardly assure you that I shall be extremely pleased to enter into relations with a body which is so justly representative of Roumanian opinion, and which has been constituted under the Presidency of one who has never lost faith in the ultimate vindication of ~~those principles of right and~~ justice ~~and which~~ the aspirations of the Roumanian people ~~are based.~~

I beg, therefore, that you will convey to the Council an expression of my entire sympathy with them in the task of liberation and restoration that lies before them, and assure them of my hearty co-operation and support in promoting relations of warm friendship between Great Britain and Roumania, whose efforts and sufferings in the common cause are so deeply appreciated in this country.

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94

1918, December 6. News item published by the French daily "Le Matin", concerning the union of the Romanians of Crişana, Banat and Maramureş with the motherland.

New Territories Liberated from the Hungarian Yoke

Bern, December 4 — By cable from Vienne

. . .

The Romanian National Council of Transylvania proclaimed in Crişana, Banat and Maramureş the adhesion of the Romanian lands to the Kingdom of Romania.

The Romanian flag is hoisted on all public buidings. Enthusiasm is undescribable. People cry and kiss in the street. The old Saxon counties (colonies) of Transylvania, which have shared for centuries on end the sufferings of the Romanians, participate now, heart and soul, in their happienss. (Havas).

The same text is published by the "Excelsior"

Hadtörténety intézet és muzeum, Budapest, Polgári demokratikus forradalom 1918—1919. No. 253, Doboz 15/4, p. 374v.

95

1918, December 8, Rome, Letter sent by the Ambassador of the United Kingdom at Rome, J. Rennell Rodd, to British Foreign Secretary, Sir A. J. Balfour, reproducing the Italian Government's letter recognizing the National Council of Romanian Unity

British Embassy,
Rome

December 8th, 1918

No. 394

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs has recognized the establishment of the National Council of Roumanian Unity in a letter, translation of which is as follows :

Gentlemen,

"The letter which you were good enough to address to me affords me a welcome opportunity of expressing to you the profound and constant sympathy of the Italian Government with the just and legitimate aspirations of the Roumanian people.

Italy has not forgotten the patriotic enthusiasm and noble sacrifices involved in Roumania's entry into the sanguinary struggle which has now

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The Italian Government are therefore glad to recognise the National Council of Roumanian unity and to enter relations with it, assuring it of their complete sympathy.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble Servant

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been victoriously brought to an end, for the liberation of the Romanian race from the enemy yoke and for the common triumph of liberty and justice in the world. The Italian Government will give all its support to the attainment and safeguarding of all the political and territorial rights of the Roumanian people and Nation, inspired by the historic ties which have always united the two peoples and the community of interests held by their respective countrymen who have been subjected to the same foreign domination.

The Italian Government are therefore glad to recognize the National Council of Roumanian unity and to enter relations with it, assuring it of their complete sympathy."

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, Sir, Your most obedient, humble Servant

Rennel Rodd

The Right Hon.
A. J. Balfour, O.M., M.P., etc., etc., etc.

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Political, F.O. 371, Vol. 3141, pp. 551—552. English original.

96

1918, December 9, Stockholm. Cable conveyed by the French Ambassador at Stockholm, Louis Charles Marie Delavaud, from the Minister Plenipotentiary of Romania in Sweden, G. Derussi, on the proceedings of the Assembly of Alba Iulia on December 1, 1918.

Foreign Affairs

Identical copy

TELEGRAM

Stockholm — December 9, 1918 — 17.30 h.
Received December 11 — 6 h.

The Romanian National Council from *Derussi*. Hungarian newspapers received today publish *the account* of the Alba Iulia Assembly, which is briefly as follows : The Assembly was presided over by George Pop de Băseşti and by the Bishop of Arad, Ion Pap. In the morning, there were held divine services in the Orthodox and Uniate Churches. Then, a huge crowd gathered there where Horia and Crişan [104] had been executed in 1875. Vasile Goldiş read the draft resolution whose main points are : The Assembly proclaims the union with the Kingdom of Romania of all territories inhabited by Romanians, proclaims its inalienable rights over the whole of Banat, recognizes for

[104] — Mistake in the original ; it was Cloşca who was executed together wiht Horia. Crişan commited suicide in prison.

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STOCKHOLM - 9 décembre 1918 - 19.30

reçu 11 à 6 heures.

22

Conseil National Roumain, de la part de DIAMANDI.

Journaux Maghiars arrivés aujourd'hui publient compte-rendu assemblée Alba Julia dont voici résumé. Assemblée fût présidée par George Popp de Basesti et évêque Grec Ion Pop. Le matin services religieux eut lieu dans églises orthodoxes et grecque unie. Puis foule innombrable se réunit sur place ou furent exécutées en 1785 Horia & Crisan, Vasile Goldus lut projet résolution dont voici points principaux. Assemblée déclarer union avec royaume Roumanie de tous les territoires peuplés de roumains, proclame ses droits inaliénables sur Banat entier, reconnait à tous les peuples habitant territoire, liberté administrative judiciaire, culturelle et religieuse, promet suffrage universel pour les deux sexes réforme agraire, suppression fideicommis, émet vœu en faveur société nations, envoie salut aux nations libérées du joug austro-hongrois, salue mémoire soldats roumains morts dans guerre libération, exprime reconnaissance puissance alliées, décide création Grand Conseil National de deux cents membres. Jules Maniu fit ensuite exposé détaillé . , puis délégué socialiste Jumanca déclara adhésion socialistes roumains Union avec royaume roumain dans lequel socialistes roumains espèrent pouvoir trouver développement démocratique. Sur Proposition Vaida, on élit Grand Conseil dans lequel figurent père Bucacin et Octavian Goga. Décisions assemblée furent communiquées par évêque Miron Cristea à foule qui acclama frénétiquement grande Roumanie et son Roi. Cette journée historique s'écoula dans enthousiasme indescriptible et avec une dignité

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all its citizens administrative, juridical, cultural and religious freedom, promises universal suffrage for both sexes, land reform, the elimination of the Fidei Commissus, issues desiderata in favour of the League of Nations, conveys its greetings to the nations liberated from the Austro-Hungarian yoke, pays homage to the memory of the Romanian soldiers dead in the liberation war, voices its gratefulness to the allied powers, decides upon the setting up of the Great National Council made up of two hundred members. Iuliu Maniu made then a detailed exposé followed by the socialist delegate Jumanca, who stated the adhesion of the Romanian socialists, the union with the Romanian Kingdom, where the Romanian socialists hoped to find democratic development. On Vaida's suggestion, the great council was set up, in whose membership were Father Pucacin [i.e. Lucaciu, mispelled in the original] and Octavian Goga. The resolution of the Assembly were read by Bishop Miron Cristea to the crowd which frantically hailed Greater Romania and her King. This historic day was characterized by an indescribable enthusiasm and by a dignity which the Hungarian press was obliged to admit. In the evening, the crowds, gathered from all the corners of Transilvania, scattered calmly away without the least incident. There participated delegates from Bucovina, Bessarabia and Old Romania. The Hungarian newspapers try to exploit the alleged conflict produced by the Serbians, who would have prevented the 200 delegates of Torontal to go to Alba Iulie. The Romanian Provisional Governement was set up, under the chairmanship of Iuliu Maniu, and was formed of Ştefan Pop, Ion Suciu, Victor Bontescu, Romulus Boilă, Ion Flueraş, Iosif Jumanca, Aurel Vlad, Emil Haţegan, Vasile Goldiş, Aurel Lazăr

Delavaud

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Direction des Affaires Politiques et Commerciales. Archives diplomatiques. Vol. 32, Série Z, Carton 577, Dossier II, pp. 22—23. French original.

97

1918, December 29, Paris. Telegram sent by Sir W. G. Derby, Ambassador of the United Kindgom at Paris to British Foreign Secretary, Sir A. J. Balfour, containing the identic telegram from four Ministers of the Allied Powers at Bucharest, by which Romania's right to fulfill its national aspirations is recognized.

No. 1896
En clair by Bag

Paris, December 29, 1918

Telegram from Lord Derby to Mr. Balfour

Following is the text of identic Telegram from Ministers at Bucharest No. 902 dated Army of the Danube December 26th :
Reply to 822

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No. 1896. 21 Paris.

En clair by Bag. December 29th. 1918.

DEC 30 1918

Telegram from Lord Derby to Mr. Balfour.

Following is text of identic Telegram from four Ministers at Bucharest No. 902 dated Army of the Danube December 26th.

" Réponse à 822.

" Télégramme identique des quatre Ministres "alliés avec prière de communiquer aux Gouverne- "ments respectifs.

"La Roumanie a droit moralement et poli- "tiquement à la réalisation de ses revendica- "tions. Elle sait que les Alliés le lui re- "connaissent en vertu des principes qu'ils re- "présentent et qui ont été formulés par le Pré- "sident Wilson le 27 Septembre 1918, lorsqu'il "a déclaré que les solutions de la guerre sont "nées de la nature même des circonstances de la "guerre tout ce que les hommes d'Etat ou les "assemblées pouvant faire c'est de les réaliser "ou de les trahir."

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"Please convey identic telegram from four allied Ministers to concerned Governments :

Roumania has the moral and political right to achieve her legitimate claims. Roumania knows that the Allies recognize her claims by virtue of the principles they represent, stated by President Wilson on September 27, 1918, when he said that solutions of war had been born out of the very nature of war circumstances and all what statesmen or parliaments can do is to realize or betray them."

Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Political F.O. 371, vol. 3141, p. 604. English and French original.

98

1919, January 6, Paris. Telegram adressed by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stephen Pichon, to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in several European countries, concerning the union of Transylvania with Romania.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Cypher
Annexation of Transylvania
and of Banat

Code Office
Sent and re-copied
Paris, January 6, 1919
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

TELEGRAM

to : London, Rome, Bucharest, Belgrade, Athens,
Prague, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Christiania
Brussels (courier)
Bern (courier)
Madrid (courier)
The Hague (courier)

For all, except London and Rome

I address the Ambassadors of France at London and Rome as well as to Mr. Jusserand the following telegram : *For all :* In view of the precedents, as well as of the statements repeatedly made by the Allied Governments, the decree published on December 26, in the Official Gazette of Roumania, to sanction the union of Banat and Transylvania with this Kingdom, has no international consequences. Whatever the opinion of the Allied Governments on the present value of the Treaty of August 17, 1916, might be, it is clear that the annexation of the territoires in question cannot be proclaimed by Roumania alone and can be sanctioned by the Treaty of Peace alone.

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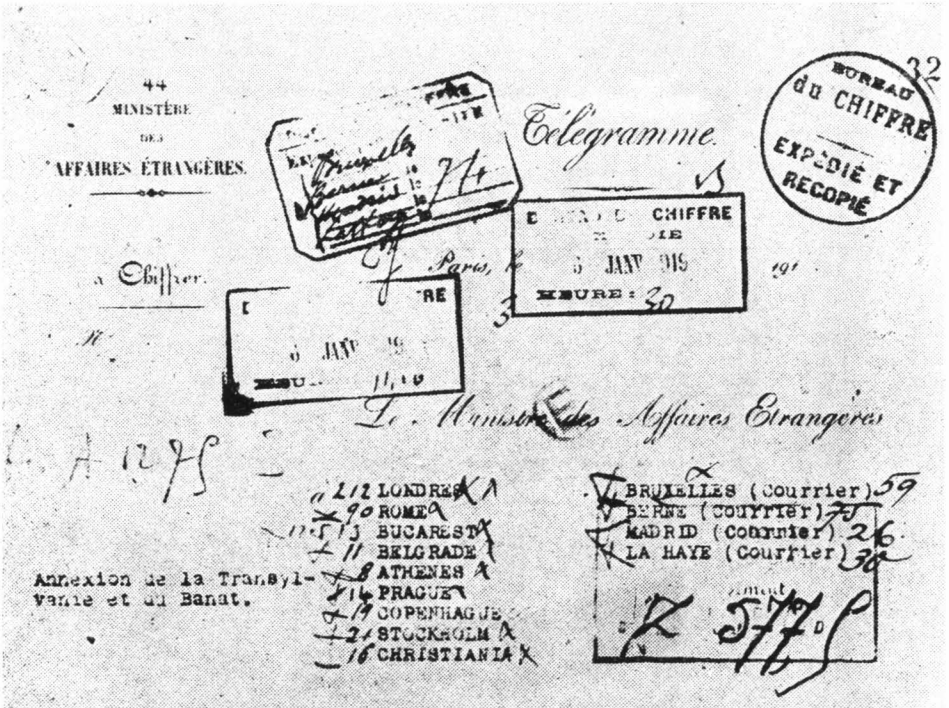

Pour tous sauf Londres et Rome

J'adresse aux Ambassadeurs de France à Londres et à Rome ainsi qu'à M. Jusserand le telegramme suivant:

Pour tous

Conformement à tous les precedents, ainsi qu'aux declarations faites par les gouvernements alliés à diverses reprises, le decret publié le 26 décembre par le Moniteur officiel de Roumanie pour consacrer ~~l'acte~~ l'union ~~[illegible]~~ du Banat et de la Transylvanie avec le royaume ne comporte aucune conséquence au point de vue international. Quelle que puisse être l'appréciation des gouvernements alliés sur la valeur actuelle du traité du 17 Août 1916 il est de toute evidence que l'annexion des territoires dont il s'agit ne peut être proclamée par la Roumanie seule et ne peut trouver sa consecration que dans le Traité de paix ~~generale~~.

Pour éviter tout malentendu et pour écarter les reclama-

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tions et les difficultés que peut entraîner cet acte il convient
~~dont l'opportunité est plus que contestable, j'estime nécessaire~~ que les gouvernements français, anglais, américain, et italien prescrivent à leurs représentants à Bucarest de déclarer au Gouvernement roumain qu'ils font toute reserve a cet egard et rappellent que le Congrès de paix ~~pourra seul~~ prononcer sur l'attribution définitive des territoires dont il s'agit, en ~~vue de laquelle il tiendra~~ tenant compte à la fois de la situation generale et des voeux des populations.

Je vous ~~serai très obligé~~ prie de demander au gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité de bien vouloir, s'il adhère à cette proposition, envoyer d'urgence à son representant à Bucarest l'instruction de se concerter avec ses trois autres collègues alliés en vue de la démarche identique à effectuer.

Il semblerait opportun de donner officieusement connaissance de cette demarche au gouvernement serbe. Je demande donc également l'envoi d'instructions dans ce sens aux 4 representants alliés à Belgrade. J'attire votre attention sur le caractère urgent de cette question./.

pour le Chiffre: communiquer à Président du Conseil guerre-groupe avant M. Jusserand.

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In order to avoid any misunderstanding and prevent the claims and difficulties which such an act might entail, the French, American and Italian Governments should accordingly instruct their representatives at Bucharest to declare to the Roumanian Government that they form all reservations in this regard and recall that the Peace Congress alone has the capacity to pronounce itself on the final attribution of the territories concerned, taking at the same time into account the general situation and the desires of the population.

Would you please ask the governments to which you are accredited to be so kind and send, in case they associate themselves to this suggestion, at their earliest convenience to their representatives at Bucharest, the necessary instructions to negotiate with their allied counterparts with a view to coming to an agrement upon further identical endeavours.

It vould be appropriate to officially inform the Serbian Government about this endeavour, I also ask them to instruct in this sense the four-allied representatives at Belgrade.

I draw your attention upon that this is a matter of great urgency.

S. Pichon

For the Code Office : to be sent to The Chairman of the War Council Advancement Group M. Jusserand

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Direction des Affaires Politiques et Commerciales, Archives diplomatiques, Vol. 41, série Z, carton 577, dossier 5, pp. 32, 32 v. French original.

99

1919. September 10, Saint Germain-en-Laye. Excerpt from the Peace Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria

Peace Treaty
between

The Allied and Associated Powers and Austria
Protocole and Statements

Signed at Saint Germain-en-Laye on September 10, 1919. *The United Sates of America, the British Empire, France, Italy* and *Japan.*

The powers designated in the present Treaty as the Main Allied and Associated Powers ;

Belgium, China, Cuba, Greece, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Serbo-Croatian-Slovene State, Czechoslovakia

Constituting, together with the Main Powers mentioned above the Allied and Associated Powers,

on the one part ;

and *Austria* on the other ;

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Considering that, following the request made by the former Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary, an armistice was granted to Austria-Hungary on November 3, 1918, by the Main Allied and Associated Powers, to make the conclusion of a Peace Treaty possible ;

Considering that the Allied and Associated Powers are also willing that war, in which some of them had been dragged in turn, directly or indirectly, against Austria-Hungary and which originated in the Declaration of War addressed on July 28, 1914 by the former Imperial Royal Government of Austria-Hungary, to Serbia and in the hostilities conducted by Germany, Austro-Hungary's ally, should make room for a solid, righteous and durable peace ;

Considering that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has discontinued today, and has been replaced, in Austria by a Republican government ;

That the Allied and Associated Powers have recognized the Czecho-Slovak State, in whose territories part of the territories of the said monarchy, constitute a free, independent and allied State ; that the said Powers have as well recognized the union of some parts of the said monarchy territory with the Serbian Kingdom territory as a free, independent and allied State under the name of he Serbo-Croatian-Slovene State ;

Considering that by restoring peace, it is also necessary to regulate the state of affairs deriving from the abolishment of the said monarchy and the seeting up of the said states, and to set the Government of these countries on durable foundations, in keeping with justice and equity...

SECTION IV
R o u m a n ia
Article 59

Austria, renounced, as she is concerned, in Roumania's favour to all her rights and titles over that part of the former Duchy of Bukovina lying beyond Roumania's borders, as they shall be subsequently settled by the Main Allied and Associated Powers.

"Monitorul Oficial" No 140 of September 26, 1920.

100

1920, May 22/June 4. Saint Germain-en-Laye. Excerpt from the Peace Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary.

Peace Treaty

The Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary
Protocole and Statements
of June 4th, 1920
(Trianon)

The United States of America, the British Emipre, France, Italy and *Japan.*

The Powers designated in the present Treaty as the Main Allied and Associated Powers.

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Belgium, China, Cuba, Greece, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Serbo-Croation-Slovene State, Siam, Czechoslovakia,

Constituting together with the Main Powers mentioned above the Allied and Associated Powers

on the one part ;

and *Hungary* on the other ;

Considering that, following the request made by the former Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary, an armistice was granted to Austria-Hungary on November 3, 1918, by the Main Allied and Associated Powers and completed as Hungary is concerned by the Military Convention of November 13, 1918, to make the conclusion of a Peace Treaty possible ;

Considering that the Allies and Associated Powers are also willing that war, in which some of them had been dragged in turn, directly or indirectly, against Austria-Hungary, and which originated in the Declaration of War addressed on July 28, 1914, by the former Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary, to Serbia and in the hostilities conducted by Germany, Austria-Hungary's ally, shall make room for a solid righteous and durable peace ;

Considering that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has discotinued today and has been replaced, in Hungary by a Hungarian national Government ;

Section III
Romania
Article 45

Hungary renounces, as she is concerned, in Roumania's favour, to all her rights and titles over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy lying beyond Hungary's borders, as they have been settled under Article 27, Part II, (Hungary's State Borders) and recognized by this Treaty or by any other Treaties concluded with a view to settling the present issues, as being part of Roumania.

"Monitorul Oficial" No. 136, September 21, 1920.

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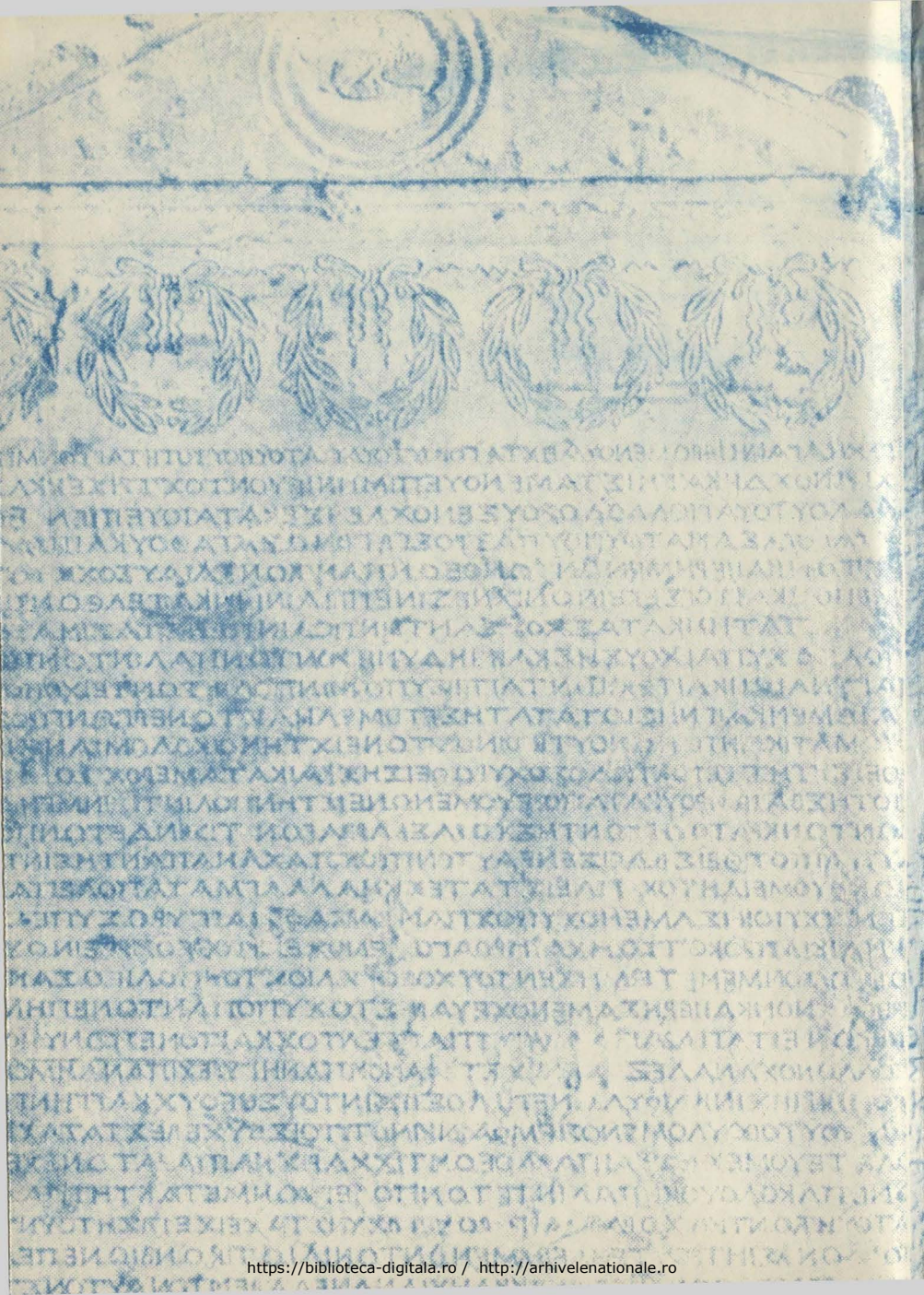

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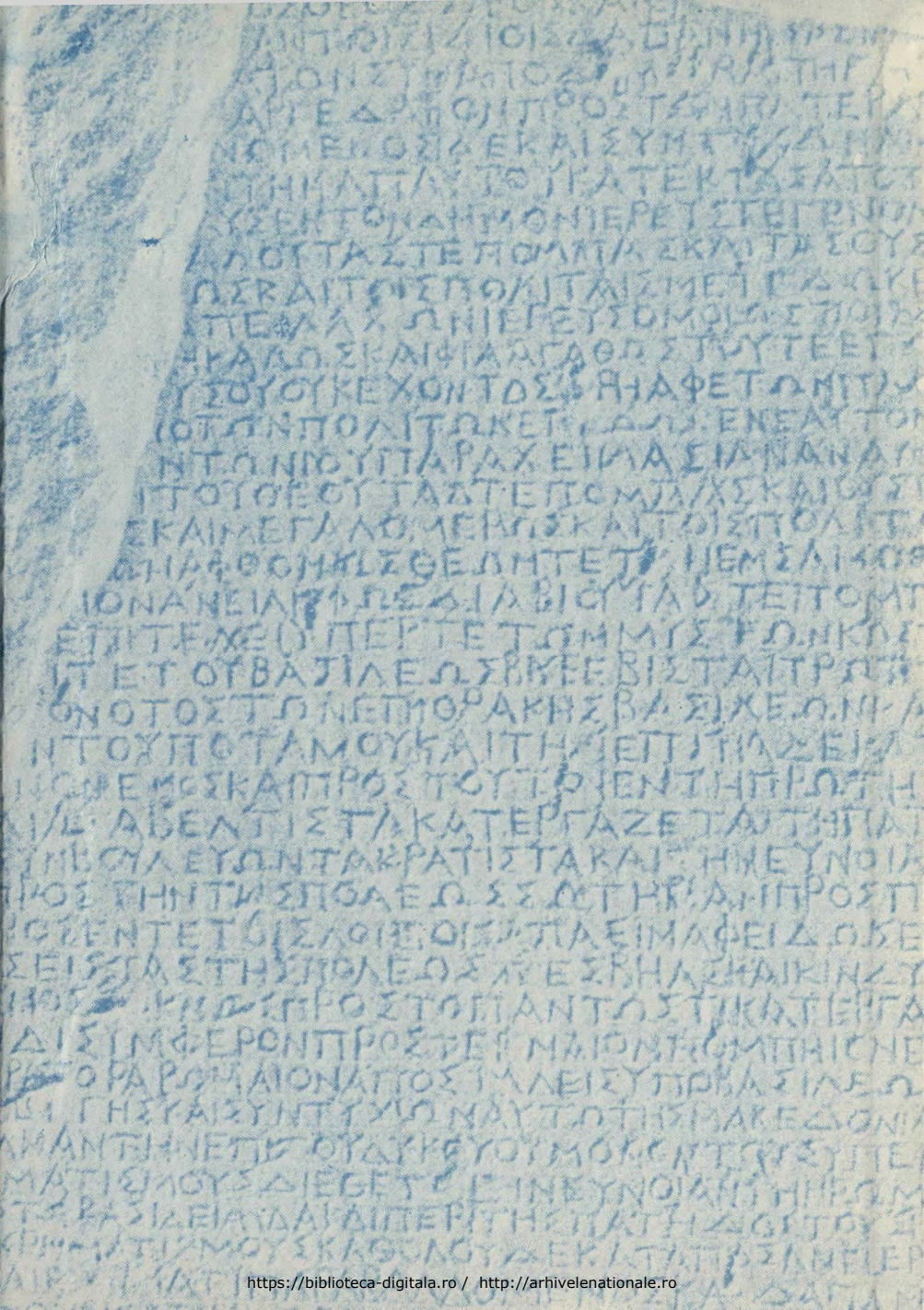

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